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COPENHAGEN 1940

PRINTED IN DENMARK
J. JØRGENSEN & CO. COPENHAGEN

Preface.

Volume I of this work appeared in 1909, II in 1914, III in 1927 (with an Appendix to vol. II), IV in 1931, and now vol. V appears in 1940. It will be seen that my Grammar has come out with many interruptions: the intervals have been filled up with other works, thus between II and III "Negation in English and Other Languages" 1917, "Language, its Nature, Development and Origin" 1922, "The Philosophy of Grammar" 1924, "Mankind, Nation and Individual" 1925, and between IV and V "Essentials of English Grammar" 1933 (4th impression 1938), "Linguistica" 1933, and "Analytic Syntax" 1937, not to mention various books in Danish, my British Academy lecture on Monosyllabism 1929, five SPE tracts and several papers in Danish and foreign periodicals.

But though this Grammar has thus been interrupted for several long periods, my work on it has gone on continually, my drawers filling constantly with quotations and observations for use in future instalments. When looking through the manuscript of this volume before sending it to the printers I cut out hundreds of quotations, and I am afraid I should have omitted many of those that were left. My consolation is that I have often been assured by fellow-students that they were glad to have so many quotations in the previous

volumes, and I may perhaps hope the same will prove true of this volume, especially with regard to illustrations of unorthodox grammar.

In my endeavours to place grammatical phenomena in a true light I have been obliged to discard some of the traditional terms such as "absolute construction" and replace them with really descriptive terms, but I trust that my innovations will cause no serious trouble.

I may repeat here some passages from previous prefaces. "It has been my endeavour in this work to represent English Grammar not as a set of stiff dogmatic precepts, according to which some things are correct and others absolutely wrong, but as something living and developing under continual fluctuations and undulations, something that is founded on the past and prepares the way for the future, something that is not always consistent or perfect, but progressing and perfectible — in one word, human" (Vol. I). "I may remind British and American readers that it is not my business to tell them what is correct or pure English, but only to register and, if possible, to explain the actual facts of English usage in various periods. But it is my impression that it would be a good thing if what might be called a Grammar of Relativity could be everywhere substituted for the Grammar of Rigidity taught in most schools all over the world" (Vol. III). "The arrangement of grammatical matter is sometimes extremely difficult on account of the numerous cross-associations which determine the structure of a language" (Vol. II). I take here one instance only of this: the infinitive as adjunct belongs under the theory of adjuncts (Vol. II) as well as under the theory of infinitives (Vol. V). Similar examples are frequent; overlappings are inevitable and have necessitated a great

many cross-references to other chapters and other volumes. But in taking up again matters previously dealt with I have been able to avail myself of new material and sometimes of new points of view as well.

Many chapters of a big volume of Morphology, written partly by myself, partly by three young scholars on the basis of the material collected by me during fifty years are nearly ready for printing. A few instalments of my work have already appeared, on the ending *-ster* in Modern Language Review 1927 (and Linguistica), on back-formations in EStn vol. 70, 1935, and on *-en* in Acta Linguistica 1939.

As I have not the same instinctive feeling for English usage as a native, I have often been obliged to consult English friends. To these I offer my best thanks, as well as to three successive English lecturers in the University of Copenhagen, Ian Maxwell, F. Y. Thompson, and A. F. Colborn, who have each of them read some of my chapters and offered me much valuable information and criticism. (But some parts of the book have not been thus revised.) I owe a debt of gratitude also to Niels Haislund, who has transcribed most of the manuscript and now has assisted me in reading the proofs very carefully. I am also indebted to the printers for the rapidity and care with which they have set up my work.

Last, but not least, I must thank the directors of the Carlsberg Foundation, who by their generous subvention have enabled me to pay my assistants and to have this volume printed in my own country at a time when it would have been impossible to print it in any of the belligerent countries.

Lundehave, Helsingør (Elsinore), in March 1940.

Otto Jespersen.

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Additions to the List of Abbreviations in vol. IV.

(Several books of ephemeral interest, quoted only a few times each, are not included in this list).

AF = Anglo-French.
Allen A = Hervey Allen, Anthony Adverse. L 1934.
AmSp = American Speech (Periodical). Baltimore 1925 ff.
AnalS(ynt) = Otto Jespersen, Analytic Syntax. Copenhagen 1937.
BDS = My Best Detective Story (Anthology). L 1931.
Carlyle E = Thomas Carlyle, Essays. Blackie & Son. L.
FR = — The French Revolution. Nelson. L
Chesterton D = Gilbert K. Chesterton, Charles Dickens.
T = — The Man Who was Thursday
Christie Cards = Agatha Christie, Cards on the Table. L 1936
LE = — Lord Edgware Dies. L 1933
3A = — Three-Act Tragedy. Albatross 1935.
Benson D2 = E. F. Benson, Dodo the Second. T.
DB = — David Blaize. L n. d.
Bentley C = E. C. Bentley, Trent's Own Case. L 1936.
BJo Gr = Ben Jonson, Grammar.
P = — The Poetaster, ed. J. H. Penniman Boston 1913.
Brett Young PC = Brett Young, Portrait of Clare. L 1929
Burke Am = Burke, Speech on Conciliation with America Ed. Hammond Lamont. Boston 1898.
Crofts Ch = Freeman Wills Crofts, The Cheyne Mystery.
G = — Inspector French's Greatest Case.
St = — The Starvel Tragedy.
All in Inspector French's Case Book. L n. d.

Cronin C = A. J. Cronin, The Citadel. L 1938.
H = — The Hatter's Castle. L 1931.
Curme S = G. O. Curme, Syntax (A Grammar of the Engl. Lang. III). Boston 1931.
Decker, read Dekker.
Di Am. Notes = Charles Dickens, American Notes. Everyman.
Dickinson in Forster, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. L 1934.
Galsw EC(h) = John Galsworthy, End of the Chapter. L 1935.
FCh = — On Forsyte 'Change. L 1930.
FS = — The Forsyte Saga. L 1925.
MW = — Maid in Waiting. L 1931.
Tat = — Tatterdemalion. L 1920.
Gamelyn = The Tale of Gamelyn. Ed. Skeat. Oxf. 1884.
Gibbs BR = Philip Gibbs, Blood Relations. L
Graves IC = Robert Graves, I, Claudius. L 1936.
Greene J4 = Robert Greene, James the Fourth in Manly's Specimens.
GS = Otto Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language. Lpz.
Earle M = John Earle, Micro-cosmographie (L 1628). Arber.
EK = Otto Jespersen, Studier over engelske kasus. København 1891.
EStn = Englische Studien (Periodical). Lpz.
ESts = English Studies (Periodical). Amsterdam.
Ford = John Ford, ed. Havelock Ellis in Mermaid Series. L.
Forster = John Forster, Life of Charles Dickens. Chapman and Hall.
Freeman Th = R. Austin Freeman, Dr. Thorndyke. L. n. d.
Froude RC = James Anthony Froude, Relations with Carlyle.
Hankin = St. J. Hankin, Three Plays. L 1927.
Harpsfield M = Harpsfield's Life of More. E.E.T.S. 186. L 1932.
Harris Shaw = Frank Harris, Bernard Shaw. L 1931.
Hemingway FA = Ernest Hemingway, Farewell to Arms. Penguin.
AHuxley PCP = Aldous Huxley, Point Counter Point. L 1931.
Juliana = Juliana, ed. William Strunk. Boston 1904.
Karpf SCh = Fritz Karpf, Syntax in den Werken Chaucers. Wien 1930.

Kemp N(ine)DW = Kemps Nine Daies Wonder (1600), ed. Dyce 1840.

Kipling DW = Rudyard Kipling, The Day's Work. T.
V = Collected Verse. N.Y. 1917.

Kyd = The Works of Thomas Kyd, ed. Boas. L 1901 (page).

Lang Ban & AB = Andrew Lang, Ban and Arrière Ban. L 1894.

Locke CA = William J. Locke, The Coming of Amos. L 1924.
HB = — House of Baltazar. L 1920.

LondE = A Book of London English 1384—1425, ed. R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt. Oxf. 1931.

Lyly E = John Lyly, Euphues. Arber.

Macaulay WH = Thomas B. Macaulay, Warren Hastings. L. n. d.

Macdonell E = A. G. Macdonell, England, Their England. Albatross 1934.

Mannin ChE = Ethel Mannin, Children of the Earth. Penguin.
Conf = — Confessions and Impressions. L 1932.
M = — The Magician. L 1931.
RS = — Rose and Sylvie. L 1938.
W = — Women also Dream. L 1937.

Maugham AK = W. Somerset Maugham, Ah King. L 1933.
Alt = — Altogether (Collected Stories). L 1934.
C = — Cakes and Ale. L 1930.
FPS = — Six Stories Written in the First Person Singular. L 1931.
HB = — Of Human Bondage. L 1929.
MS = — The Moon and Sixpence. T.
Pl = — Plays 1—4. T.

Maxw(ell) ChNight = W. B. Maxwell, Children of the Night. L. 1925

Maxw(ell) HR = W. B. Maxwell, Himself and Mr. Raikes. T.
ML = — A Man and his Lesson. L 1919.
WF = — We Forget Because We Must. T.

Medwin S = T. Medwin, Life of Shelley, ed. Buxton Forman. Oxf. 1913.

Mitford OV = Mary Russell Mitford, Our Village. L 1906.

Moore EW = George Moore, Esther Waters. Penguin.

Orrm = The Ormulum, ed. R. Holt 1878.

Peacock M = Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley. Ed. Brett-Smith. L 1909.

PhilGr = Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar. L 1924.

Priestley A = J. B. Priestley, Adam in Moonshine. L 1927.
AP = — Angel Pavement.
F = — Faraway. L 1932.

Russell Ed = Bertrand Russell, On Education. L 1926.
FO = — Freedom and Organisation. L 1934.
SE = — Sceptical Essays. L 1928.
SR (or SocReconstr) = — Principles of Social Reconstruction. L 1917.

Sayers GN = Dorothy M. Sayers, Gaudy Night. L 1935.
NT = — The Nine Tailors. Albatross 1934.
UnnD = — Unnatural Death. L 1935.

Scott O or OM = Walter Scott, Old Mortality. Oxf. 1906.

Selden = John Selden, Table Talk (1689). Arber.

Shaw Ms = George Bernard Shaw, Misalliance, The Dark Lady, Fanny's First Play. L 1914.
TT = — Too True to be Good. T.

Sherriff F = R. C. Sherriff, A Fortnight in September. T.

Sitwell M = Miracle on Sinai. Albatross 1934.

Southey L = Robert Southey, Letters, ed. Fitzgerald. Oxf. 1912.

Stephen L = Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen. L 1906.

Sterne M = Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy and A Sentimental Journey. MM 1911.

Towneley = The Towneley Plays. Ed. George England. E.E. T.S. 1897.

Walpole Cp = Hugh Walpole, Captives. L 1920.
RH = — Rogue Herries. L 1930.

Wells EA = H. G. Wells, An Experiment in Autobiography. L 1934.
Inv = — The Invisible Man. L 1924.
OH = — Outline of History. L 1920.
U = — Modern Utopia. L 1905.

Chapter I.

Introductory.

1.1. My grammatical system has not sprung ready-made at once from my brain. It has developed gradually and, though in its essential features unchanged, has been modified in minor points, as has also my terminology, which in several points deviates from what is generally accepted. The chief stages in this development are found in the following works: Sprogets logik 1913, A Modern English Grammar, vol. II 1914, De to hovedarter av grammattiske forbindelser 1921, The Philosophy of Grammar 1924, Essentials of English Grammar 1933, The System of Grammar 1933 (also as part of Linguistica), Analytic Syntax 1937. Some points have also been touched upon in vols. III and IV of my Grammar, 1927 and 1931.

As some of my views have been, partly misunderstood, partly even misrepresented (e. g. by Funke in Englische Studien vol. 60 and by Ehrling in Journal of English and Germanic Philology 1939) it will not be amiss here briefly to recapitulate my system in what I have no doubt will be its final shape.

I think we must keep strictly apart three things, which present, it is true, certain points of similarity, but which are nevertheless three distinct planes, as it were, and should not be mixed up, as is too often done. I call them here **A, B,** and **C.**

1.2₁. A. *Word-classes,* or, as is often said, Parts of Speech. Here my classification deviates but little from

that found in most grammars. I maintain that everything should be kept in view, form, function and meaning, though form is here, perhaps, the fundamental criterion. Thus I arrive at distinguishing nouns (with the subclasses substantives and adjectives), verbs, and particles, which latter class comprises adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, prepositions being essentially adverbs governing nouns, and conjunctions being essentially adverbs governing clauses. Besides these classes we have pronouns, which form what the Danish grammarian Wiwel terms a "tværklasse", a "transverse" class running as it were across the distinction of substantives, adjectives, and adverbs. And finally we have interjections, capable of forming a sentence by themselves, which is done by the other words only exceptionally. All these classes are difficult to define sharply and exhaustively, pronouns more than the others; nevertheless in practice the classification itself rarely offers occasion for doubt.

1.2₂. In distinguishing substantives and adjectives we meet for the first time the notion of *specialization*, for I point out that in those cases in which we have words of the two classes corresponding to one another, e. g. *American* sb. (with the plural *Americans*) and adj., *Spaniard* and *Spanish*, *black* sb, (with the pl. *blacks*) and adj., *philosopher* and *philosophic*, the former denotes more special ideas than the latter. As the notions denoted by substantives comprise generally more qualities than one and are thus more "substantial" than those covered by adjectives, which single out one quality possessed by a greater number of things, I maintain that substantives are "on the whole" and "broadly" (this restriction found in PhilGr 75 and 81, is often overlooked) more special than adjectives. There is, as expressly indicated (ib. 75), an important exception to this rule, namely nexus-substantives, whether verbal such as *arrival* or adjectival such as *pride* or *cleverness*.

These are words *sui generis* and make difficulties whatever view we may hold of the principle of classification.

While **A** deals with isolated words—a dictionary indicates whether a word is a substantive or an adjective, etc.—the planes **B** and **C** deal with words in connected speech.

1.31. B. *Junction*, i. e. a combination of words which does not denote predication, but which serves to make what we are speaking about more precise. Here we meet with the distinction of *ranks*. *A very poor widow* contains a tertiary (*very*), a secondary (*poor*) and a primary (*widow*); corresponding examples are *extremely cold weather*, *a furiously barking dog*. In other combinations we may have quaternaries or quinaries, e. g. *a not* (5) *particularly* (4) *well* (3) *constructed* (2) *plot* (1).

But though in these examples the substantives are primaries, the adjectives secondaries, and the adverbs tertiaries or belong to still lower ranks, the distinction has nothing to do with word-classes as such. A substantive may in some combinations be a secondary (*class* prejudices) or a tertiary (we travel third *class*); an adjective may be a primary (the *brave* deserve the *fair*), and an adverb occasionally figures as a secondary (the *above* remarks). Similarly with pronouns (see vol. II ch. XVI, which should have the superscription Ranks of Pronouns instead of Functions of Pronouns): some pronouns are always primaries, e. g. *I*, *me*, *who*, others may according to circumstances have different rank; *the* is secondary in *the book*, tertiary in *so much the better*: *this* is primary in *this is good*, secondary in *this book*: *any* is a primary in *you may take any of them*, a secondary in *any book* and a tertiary in *is this any better?*, and a quaternary in *Is that any less true than the opposite?*

The distinction of rank applies not only to single words, but also to word-groups: *after dinner* is a secondary in *his after-dinner pipe*, and a tertiary in *he*

smoked after dinner. Thus we have clauses as primaries, as secondaries and as tertiaries.

In favour of my view I may here reprint what I have elsewhere said on the terminological advantage of my system: *top* is a substantive, *in top branch* it has according to some grammarians become an adjective or an adjective-equivalent, but in *the top one* this substantive which has become an adjective-equivalent is again substantivized. Instead I say: *top* is always a substantive, but in *the top fell down* it is a primary, in *the top branch* and *the top one* it is secondary to the primary *branch* or *one*. For *primary* I formerly sometimes used the word *principal*.

1.3₂. In the most important class of junctions (restrictive) we find different degrees of *specialization*: *a poor widow* is more special than *a widow*, and a *very poor widow* is still more special. This has never been contested, but greater doubt attaches to my contention that this specialization is produced by words which are in themselves less special than the words they serve to specialize: *poor* is less special than *widow*, and *very* even less special. It has been objected that *poor* cannot be less special than *widow*, because there are more poor people than widows—but the word *poor* is applied to other things than human beings: we may speak of poor crops, stocks, countries, food, gifts, houses, work, results; so that this objection is a poor one. Still I do not lay too much weight on this particular part of my theory, as it is often difficult to say which of two ideas applies to more things than the other.—In non-restrictive junctions like the exclamation *My dear little Ann!* there is no specialization; *dear* and *little* do not serve to tell which of several Anns I am speaking of (or to), but simply to characterize and show emotion; they are ornamental and to some extent parenthetical, but they are nevertheless secondary in relation to the name. In *this sagacious little man* the word *this* alone defines

(specializes), while *sagacious* and *little* describe parenthetically; but in *he is a sagacious man* the secondary *sagacious* is restrictive.

1.41. C. *Nexus*, i. e. a combination implying predication and as a rule containing a subject and either a verb or a predicative or both. Besides these a nexus may contain one or more objects, often a direct and an indirect object. On the distinction between junction and nexus in general see AnalS 33.2.

1.42. Can anything be said about the degree of *specialization* of these various elements? Yes, but only with regard to the relation between a subject and its predicative, which latter is always less special than the subject, see the latest treatment of the question in AnalS ch. 35; if there is perfect identity and thus coextension, no one can tell which is the subject and which the predicative. But we could not say that a verb is less special than the subject, or that there is any such relation between subject and object. Rather it may be said that the meaning of a verb is specialized by the subject and object with which it is connected as well as by an adverb used in the same sentence (see vol. III ch. 11 ff., PhilGr 158, and AnalS 33.6).

1.43. From these remarks on the degree of specialization found in a nexus it follows necessarily that it is impossible to apply the distinction of *rank* to a nexus in exactly the same way as in a junction. Nevertheless it seems perfectly natural to speak of rank in such combinations as the *dog* (primary) *barks* (secondary) *furiously* (tertiary) exactly as in *the furiously barking dog*. The analogy seems impeccable. Further we say that not only the subject, but also the object must be considered a primary in relation to the verb: the object is as it were a hidden subject (Madvig) or a subject placed in the shade (Schuchardt); if it were not so we should fail to understand the frequency with which these grammatical notions pass into one another (PhilGr 160).

For the secondary member of a nexus I formerly used the term *adnex*, which is generally superfluous, as is also the term *subnex* for a tertiary member of a nexus.

1.44. I now restrict the name of *object* to its use in a nexus, where it may be the object of a verb, including an infinitive and a participle, as well as of a gerund or a verbal nexus-substantive. Formerly I used the term in conformity with most English grammars also of what is governed by a preposition; this I now prefer calling its *regimen*. But in AnalS I extend the symbols S for subject and O for object to analogical cases like *Away with you!* 3 p S ! and *He takes care of her | he is in love with her* S W O.

The regimen of a preposition is reckoned as a primary.

A nexus may be independent, forming a sentence, or dependent. The former was dealt with chiefly in vol. III, the latter will form the main subject-matter of the present volume.

1.5. In this volume I often have occasion to employ the syntactical symbols explained in Analytic Syntax 1937. The chief symbols occurring in this volume are

S = subject.

V = verb.

W = composite verbal expression like *care for*, *take care of*, etc.

P = predicative.

O = object (direct).

O^i = indirect object, in the former book denoted by an italic *O*.

I = infinitive.

G = gerund.

X = nexus-substantive.

Y = agent-substantive or participle.

p = preposition.

v, s, o = "lesser" verb, subject, object.

^{r} = result; ^{a} = active, ^{b} = passive.

^{1} ^{2} ^{3} ^{4} etc. rank.

$\frac{1}{2}$S, $\frac{1}{2}$O = half-subject, half-object.

S^{∞} generic subject (French *on*))

( ) particulars serving to explain the item immediately preceding the parenthesis.

A raised ^{2} denotes a secondary derived from a primary (a genitive).

Lowered $_{2}$ and $_{3}$ after S and O denote a second or third subject or object in the same sentence.

1.6. As already remarked, the main subject-matter of this volume will be the dependent nexus.

This will fall into the following chief headings:

A Simple Nexus as Object (chs. 2—4).

A Simple Nexus as Regimen of a Presposition (ch. 5).

A Simple Nexus as Tertiary (ch. 6).

Nexus-Substantives (ch. 7).

The Gerund (chs. 8—9).

The Infinitive (chs. 10—20).

Clauses (ch. 21).

An Implied Nexus (agent-substantives and participles; ch. 22).

Nexus as Object.

1.7. If we compare the following sentences,

(1) They judged me a happy man.

(2) I believe him as honest as myself.

(3) This will make her happy.

(4) They elected Tom their chief.

(5) He slept himself sober.

(6) I want this done at once.

(7) I believe him to be an honest man.

(8) This will make the watch go.

(9) I want this to be done at once—

and if we ask in each case what is the object of the verb, many grammars say that in the first six it is the word placed immediately after the verb, and the rest is called a "complement" of the object, or an "adjective or noun used predicatively of the object" (Sonnen-

schein); in the sentences (7) to (9) some writers speak of the infinitive as one of two objects.

The correct analysis is that all these are analogous and contain not two objects (as in "I gave (made) her a ring"), but only one, which is a nexus containing the same two parts as a nexus that forms a complete sentence or clause; compare with (2) "I believe that he is as honest as I" and with (8) "this will have the effect that the watch goes". In (5) it is particularly easy to see that it is wrong to look upon the first part (*himself*) as the real object of *slept:* we have here an object of result (vol. III 12.2): the result of his sleeping is that he became sober ("himself sober").

The symbolization of the sentences given above will consequently be as follows—leaving out some minor parts of the sentences:

(1, 2) S V $O(S_2P)$.
(3, 4, 5, 6) S V $O^r(S_2P)$.
(7) S V $O(S_2IP)$.
(8) S V $O^r(S_2I)$.
(9) S V $O^r(S_2I^b)$.

The parallelism is seen very clearly when the same verb is followed by both kinds of nexus-objects:

Sh Ven 1152 It shall . . . *Make* the yoong *old*, the old *become* a childe | Cæs IV. 3.280 That *mak'st* my blood *cold*, and my haire *to stare* | Walton A 2 that *made* me so *early up*, and indeed, *to walk* so fast | ib 44 [he] hath not only *made* her [an otter] *tame*, but *to catch* fish | Byron DJ 13.13 Her charms *made* all men *speak*, and women *dumb* | Thack P 410 a winning frankness of manner, which *made* most people *fond* of her, and *pity* her | Ruskin P 2.179 a crowd round me only *made* me *proud*, and *try* to draw as well as I could | Wister R 3 he *felt* himself *dishonored*, and his son *to be* an evil in the tribe | Russell SocReconstr 144 education would aim at *making* them *able* to think, not at making them think what their teachers think.

The recognition of this parallel is not tantamount to saying that in Goldsm "an enemy whom he knew more powerful than himself" the infin. *to be* is omitted (NED *know* 11 c). Very often it is not possible thus to supply *to be*, and it would serve no purpose to single out as a separate class those combinations in which this addition is possible.

The difference between the construction considered here and an ordinary object with an adjunct is seen for instance, in "I have often heard spoken French" O(21) ("spoken French is more difficult to understand than written or printed French") and "I have often heard French spoken O(S_2P) (by Italians)", and, perhaps more clearly still in "I found the empty cage" and "I found the cage empty": with the latter compare "I found Fanny gone": S V O(S_2P) (thus did not find her!). Examples of this combination are seen, e. g. in Defoe R 2.55 they came there and *found the men gone* Mackenzie SA 139 Twenty minutes later, Mary found Pierre gone and her grandmother reading The Times (similarly Fielding T 3.6, Galsw SS 316, Wells Blw 50, etc.) | Goldsm V 1.101 the two ladies had been at our house to see us, and *finding us from home*, came after us hither | Di N 387 | Bennett P 100 Charlie is certainly not coming home to *find me away* | Pennell L 148 I *found* my two mascots *missing*.

Cf. below 23.3$_8$ on negative.

Chapter II.

Simple Nexus as Ordinary Object.

A simple nexus consisting of a subject (S) and a predicative (P) without any verbal form may be the object of a verb.

The arrangement is according to the different categories of verbs taking such a nexus as their object.

2.1₁. *Verbs of Perception.*

In the following examples those are placed after || in which the predicative is an adverb or a prepositional group.

Sh R3 II. 1.90 [he] came too lagge to *see* him buried | Zangwill G 333 Mrs Maper saw herself an empress | I will see you hanged first | Dryden V 358 he *perceived* you jealous | Galsw IC 47 Emily perceived the crisis past | Chesterton MW 19 To his astonishment, he *discovered* the whole garden empty | Sheridan 320 I have *heard* her spoken of as a youthful wonder | Stevenson K 118 Presently I *observed* Mr. Riach and the seamen busy round the skiff | Macaulay E 4.99 we often *hear* it said that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened | Tenn 249 Who ... *learns* her gone and far from home | Locke FS 171 he woke up to *find* it daylight || Di Do 69 he would *watch* the children away | id D 42 he had watched my mother out | Scott A 1.323 I'll *see* you as well through this business as I can.

Note that the S may be what in an active sentence would be the indirect object, as in Maxw WF 89 When he saw anybody kissed or given money, or offered food, he uttered his cry, "Me too!" Cf. You should have seen him taken care of by that old woman.

2.1₂. *Know:* Sh Alls I. 1.111 And yet I *know* him a notorious liar | Shelley 137 they knew his cause their own | GE Mm 83 I never knew him wrong | Doyle S 6.180 Did you ever know him ill?

But after *remember* as in Beaconsf L 201 I *remember* him such a good-looking fellow! we have an object with an apposition rather than a nexus-object.

2.2₁. *Think, believe,* etc.: Sh Ven 156 That thou shouldst *thinke* it heauie vnto thee | Ro I. 2.92 I will make thee thinke thy swan a crow | Austen M 312 my uncle thought you wrong | Sh Mids III. 2.353 this their iangling I *esteeme* a sport | Galsw Ca 407 [they] esteem

themselves Christians, but I have only once met a Christian who esteemed himself a Jew | Tennyson 406 [I] *dreamed* my knight the greatest knight of all | Brontë V 121 She esteemed him hideously plain, and used to *profess* herself frightened ... at the sound of his step || Johnson L 212 Savage then *imagined* his task over | Hawth T 125 he almost *thought* them alive | GE Mm 228 selfish people always think their own discomfort of more importance than anything else | Di D 16 I thought her in a different style from my mother | Austen M 184 could she have *believed* herself in the way | Thack S 30 she would *fancy* the Church in danger if she did not go | Di AmNotes 115 One might fancy the season over, and most of the houses gone out of town.

Note the comma between S and P in Bosw 2.73 [he] used to think a story, a story, till I shewed him that truth was essential to it.

2.2a. *Consider, hold, find* (figuratively), *make out*, etc..

Ch E 855 algate I *finde* it trewe | Galsw SP 164 instinctively she *felt* the painter right | Sh H4A I. 3.90 I shall neuer *hold* that man my friend, Whose tongue shall aske me for one peny cost | By DJ 5.116 She now *conceived* all difficulties past | Macaulay H 1.85 For these things history must *hold* the King himself chiefly responsible | Stevenson M 4 he held blood thicker than water | Galsw SP 45 She made a pretty nurse, and his practised eye *judged* her a good one | Wilde W 38 you want to *make* her *out* a wicked woman || Sh Gent III. 1.25 when they haue *judg'd* me fast asleepe | Hml II. 2.267 I *hold* ambition of so ayry and light a quality, that it is but a shadowes shadow | GE Mm 239 neighbours *considered* the house in quarantine | Kipl S 81 you consider cricket beneath you | GE S 18 she *held* her engagement to him at an end | Fox 2.53 As to Cromwell, John Mill does not always agree with Carlyle, who tries to *make* him *out* always in the right.

Note the infinitive in Collins M 518 They considered me to blame for allowing the discipline to be relaxed—cf. "he is *to blame*".

Some of the synonymous verbs may take *as* before the predicative: *he considered this a good omen*, or, *as a good omen* = V O(S_2 pP). *Hold* seldom takes *as* (cf. Di T 2.28 they held life as of no account); on the other hand *regard* (and *look upon*) require *as: he regarded* (*looked upon*) *this as a good omen.*

On *as* with a predicative see vol. IV 23.1.

2.2₃. *Conclude* (obsolete ?): Osborne 71 you would have concluded him drunk with joy | Walton A 6 shall I conclude her simple? | Swift 3.381 they concluded me certainly dead || Sterne M 1.144 my uncle Toby would have concluded my father in a rage.

Mean: Maugham HB 128 That will mean three rooms empty all through the winter || that will mean a heavy load off my mind.

2.3. *Call*, etc.

Sh Hml IV. 5.102 the rabble *call* him Lord | Galsw SS 47 we've *labelled* her 'Traitress' | They *baptized* (*christened*) him James.

Note the curious plural in Defoe Rox 16 calling the maid all the foolish jades and sluts that she could think of | ib 156 I called myself a thousand fools; cf. Stevenson T 251 He called them all the fools and dolts you can imagine—implying different names.

2.4₁. *Declare* and synonyms: || Mi PL 5.158 these [works] declare Thy goodness beyond thought | Macaulay E 4.253 Hastings declared the sitting at an end [very nearly an object of result] | Stevenson M 235 he declared the farce over | NP 1903 a manifesto declaring the general strike at an end | Matthews F 174 the doctor did declare her out of immediate danger.—

Synonyms of declare: Marlowe T 1.1338 wil I ... *write* myself great Lord of Affrica | Defoe G 70 the

ladyes can write them [their sons] fools and fops or men of brains and sence | Marlowe J 2180 I will *warrant* Malta free for euer | North 255 to be *chronicled* the plague and destroier of thy countrie | Sh Alls II. 3.14 fellowes that *gaue* him *out* incureable (cf. Tp V. 223) | Cowper L 1.60 the world would *vote* the critic useless | NP 1914 the world would vote the man mad | Walton A 139 I *grant* it probable | Chesterton Thursday 34 You want a dress which will *guarantee* you harmless | Wells Blw 151 He it was had first *ruled* me insane and immune from reproof | Galsw FS 823 His doctor had *passed* him sound in other respects | Mackenzie RR 243 that he [a doctor] would at once *certify* his niece insane after such a remark | he *found* the prisoner guilty.

2.42. *Confess* and synonyms:

Heywood P 339 *auow* them true | Bunyan G 119 I *confessed* myself guilty | Brontë V 36 We should *acknowledge* God merciful, but not always to us comprehensible | Trollope W 96 he would never *own* himself beat | Stevenson T 99 I own myself an ass | Gissing R 3 *Admit* yourself a merchant || Mackenzie C 261 Nine years passed, making it more difficult every day to *admit* herself in the wrong.

Feign and synonyms: Eastw 425 he *counterfeited* himselfe madde | ib 442 I must *faine* my selfe extreamly amorous | Defoe M 232 I *pretended* myself very ill.

Show, prove, etc.: Heywood P 314 That answer *sheweth* you a ryght syngynge man | Sh Wiv II. 3.56 you haue show'd your selfe a wise physician, and Sir Hugh hath showne himselfe a wise churchman | Austen M 381 that would only *prove* her affection not equal to sacrifices | Tennyson 174 Your language proves you still the child | Hardy L 73 events seemed to be proving him right | Shaw 2.103 Does that prove you wrong? | Mason 3G 170 how should he correct her without *betraying* himself a prig? || Austen P 323 a diffidence which *marked* her little in the habit of giving invita-

tions | Wister R 61 an Indian whose splendid trappings *denoted* him of consequence.

2.5. *Speak, argue:* Scott Iv 73 Report *speaks* you a bonny monk | Mered R 43 it speaks him anything but a coward | Lamb R 27 a noble frankness, which *bespake* him yet a virgin from the world | Di P 17 a widow, whose rich dress and profusion of ornament bespoke her a most desirable addition to a limited income | Shaw J 140 not to know it *argues* yourself unknown || Austen P 258 anything that spoke him of irreligious or immoral habits.

2.6. *Keep, continue:* you must *keep* this a secret will you keep Mr. N. informed of the affair? | keep the pot boiling | Swift 3.379 else he would *continue* me a prisoner | Fielding T 4.126 to continue her longer engaged in a hopeless passion for him | Lewis B 153 Four days later he remembered that he had stopped smoking, but he was too busy ... to keep it remembered || keep the child awake (alive, in good health) | Bunyan G 10 Mercy *preserved* me alive | Austen M 7 we must not *continue* her in the family.

This use of *keep* with $O(S_2P)$ is different from that in "keep the enemy in sight, in view, keep one's hand in the pocket, keep an article in stock, a man in prison", which must be symbolized V O 3(pl) as the preposition with the noun is purely local.

2.71. *Have:* Clear instances of nexus-objects are found with a second participle; the meaning of "I had a watch given to me" or "he had two horses shot under him" is similar to that of the passive "a watch was given to me" or "two horses were shot under him", but the interest centres on the person.

Examples: Sh H4A III. 3.113 I had my pocket pickt | H6A III. 1.83 Many haue their giddy braynes knockt out | Merch III. 1.106 Antonio hath an argosie cast away comming from Tripolis | Osborne 50 Just now I

have news brought mee of the death of an old rich knight | Swift J 226 I had a petition sent me t'other day | ib 493 last night I had a present sent me of the finest fowl | Fielding 5.543 I never had a robbery committed in my house | Quincey 272 if a man ... never had his life attempted | Coleridge Sh 108 a feeling of having done a wrong, or of having had a wrong done to us | Di D 189 King Charles the First had his head cut off | MacCarthy 2.36 they had chains put on them | Stevenson T 115 he had no time given him to recover | Doyle 3.244 Old Acton had his house broken into last Monday | Maugham Pl 2.168 I shouldn't like to have a meal stood me by a woman | He had a son born to him.

2.7₂. A frequent combination is *have ... left:*

Defoe R 320 they had no way left then, but to accept it | Swift 3.339 while either of them had any thing left | Fielding 3.572 his heart had scarce strength enough left | Swinburne L 105 do you think R has two years' vitality left him?

2.7₃. In the first sentence of the following quotation we have probably a simple perfect = 'have lost', but in the second we have a nexus-object: Sh Hml IV. 7.25 And so haue I a noble father lost, A sister driven into desperate tearmes. The latter analysis holds good in IV. 4.55 [I] haue a father kild, a mother staind.

Note the combination with *had had* and *have had* in Medwin S 45 I had had lent to me the translation of Bürger's Leonora | Kaye Smith GA 300 a story which Clen had had given him years ago as a prize in the Sunday-school | Stevenson T 205 I should have had nothing left me to desire but for the eyes of the coxswain | Priestley G 344 There was the money that drunken sportsman, George, had said he had had stolen from him.

2.7₄. We have also a nexus-object in the familiar phrase: Di D 552 [she] has something the matter with

her spine | Shaw 1.139 I almost wish you had something serious the matter with you (cf. vol. III 18.5_3).

2.75. It is well known that the perfect has developed from such a construction as *he has the fish caught* (i. e. as caught), whence later *he has caught the fish* (see vol. IV 3.1). But in some combinations we still have the position substantive (pronoun) + participle in such a way that the meaning is hardly different from the perfect, though emphasizing the present state more than the perfect does. This is frequent with verbs meaning 'beat, surpass', etc. In the same sense the verb *have* may be used by itself: *You have me there = you have me beat.*

Examples: Maxw WF 145 if it comes to literature you defeat me—you have me *beat* at once | Galsw Ca 932 Ah! she [a horse] had the 'Angman [another horse] beat | Helen Keller 322 if she thinks she has me beaten | Dreiser F 197 And I had him beaten, too! (also 199) | Stevenson T 213 the corner where he had me *trapped* | Jameson F 34 if you go about looking like that, some woman will have you *snaffled* before you know what's happened to you | Bennett Acc 106 Alan felt that he had her *cornered* (also Locke CA 127, 143, 307) | Galsw Two Fors. Interl 31 You surely had me *scared.*

Similarly (in U. S.) *has got ... beat:* Lewis B 149 That's got everything in the world beat | ib 215 the only reason she's got Drew beaten is because she has got some brains | Maugham TL 271 You've got me beat. Cf. vol. IV 4.3(5).

The construction seen in "he had a box made" will be dealt with under object of result (3.6). On the word-order in such a nexus see 4.3_5.

2.81. *Like:* (I like my tea very sweet, see below) | Galsw SS 259 the sort of thing you'd like written about yourself | id FS 1026 Is there anything you would like left out? || Meredith E 236 He likes his friends about him | Farnol A 408 I should like it over as soon as possible.

2.8₂. *Bear:* Galsw TL 195 I can't bear the affair talked of || Maugham Pl 3.96 I could hardly bear him out of my sight.

2.9₁. *Wish, want,* etc. (these approach the object of result; we may speak of object of designed result):

Sh Mcb III. 1.38 I wish your horses swift and sure of foot | Cæs IV. 2.8 to wish Things done, undone | Cowper L 1.247 I have sometimes wished myself a philosopher | Locke Ordeyne 182 Don't tell Mrs. M anything you wish forgotten | Thack N 753 shall her husband not wish you happy | Austen S 240 we *wanted* her gone | GE A 412 if you don't want anything done first | Ru P 2.134 he wanted me taken charge of on the hills | Galsw P 20 I don't want my hair seen till Mother comes | Dane L 11 she didn't *need* any typing done || Sh H5 IV. 3.30 wish not a man from England | Swift P 122 he wishes her in Abraham's Bosom | Gibbon M 256 I wish you back to Sheffield Place | Poe 106 wishing the whole tribe of scarabæi at the devil | Di Do 405 she only wishes tbe dinner at an end | Shaw P 166 why do you wish him away? | Mered R 227 he began to wish himself in love | Harraden F 36 irritable old ladies *wanting* the windows closed and the blinds down | Galsw EC 476 I want it off my chest | Stevenson M 44 I want you far away | Compare also Tenn 37 to *woo* thee mine.

2.9₂. *See* (in the sense 'take care that it be done', also approaching the object of result):

Sh Mcb I. 2.50 Ile see it done | Goldsm 68 I desired him to see justice done his father (Trollope W 43) | Goldsm 651 to see their horses and trunks taken care of | Scott A 1.142 pray, see it [the room] got ready | id Iv 65 the steward left the hall to see the commands of his patron obeyed | Di P 211 I know his employers will see it paid | Walpole W 311 "I will go and lie down" ... "I'll come with you and see you cosy."

2.9₃. We may mention here also: I saw her to her

carriage [accompanied her], to the steamer, saw her off saw her home | Williamson L 36 I saw the ladies int(the best hotel in the town.

In a similar sense *help:* Bunyan P 17 if he coul(not help him off with his burden | ib 37 I will help yo off with your irons | help him on (off) with his coat assist her off her horse.

Chapter III.

Simple Nexus as Object of Result.

First verbs which in themselves denote the produc tion of a result:

3.1ı. *Make:* Sh As IV. 1.27 I had rather haue a foo to make me merrie, then experience to make me sad John III. 1.279 it is religion that doth make vowe kept | AV Acts 26.24 much learning doeth make the mad | Sheridan 282 trying to make themselves under stood | Hardy F 449 the convulsion had made her her self again | Walpole Cp 369 You've made us all laughe at || Roister 25 That word maketh me aliue again Sh Hml III. 1.69 the respect That makes calamity o so long life | Cymb I. 1.42 The king . . . makes him of hi bed-chamber | BJo 3.231 to make all the wenches i love with me | ib 1.57 what makes thee so out of lov with fasting-days? (also Sh H4B II. 2.15) | AV Phil 2.7 [Christ] made himselfe of no reputation | Fieldin 4.134 what it was that made me in this condition Hughes T 2.163 what makes you in such a hurry? Thack N 897 it made Mrs. Mack and her son-in-la on more than ordinarily good terms | Wells TB 1.23 you could forbid it—make it against the etiquette Russell Soc Reconstr 117 they have destroyed almos all that made Germany of value to the world.

Note the familiar expression in Strachey EV 292 the lac

of provisions now for the first time began to *make itself felt*— which differs from *began to be felt* in so far as here the lack of provisions is represented as something actively influencing the sufferers.

3.1₂. *Render* (chiefly with adj. as P): Sh Cæs II. 1.303 O ye Gods! Render me worthy of this noble wife || Brontë J 295 I wanted to render you as madly in love with me as I was with you | NP 1924 the delay would render the League's warlike operations of doubtful effect.

Transform: Sh H4B II. 2.77 see if the fat villain haue not transform'd him ape. Very rare, generally with *to* or *into*.

3.2. *Elect:* they elected him President || Thack N 843 J. was elected of the Royal Academy this year.

Create: the government created Sir Edward a peer. (Cf. Sh Err III. 2.39 would you create me new, mentioned vol. II 15.33 with *new-furnish*, etc.).

Appoint: Swift 3.192 he appointed me master of the sloop.

Proclaim: Sh John II. 1.310 proclaime Arthur of Britaine Englands King.

Crown: Sh H6B I. 1.48 Henry shal crowne her Queene of England | Tenn 396 they crowned him King.

Dub one a knight.

Cf. *declare* and synonyms, above 2.4_1.

Order: NED 1794: to order a proper monument erected.

3.3. Next we have a certain number of verbs of movement, in which the original physical meaning is more or less effaced when they take a nexus as their object; some of them are used in this way in a few special combinations only.

Bring (often with *acquainted*, the phrase developed from *bring together*): BJo P III. 1.269 If thou wouldst bring me known to Mecænas | Congreve 235 we brought 'em acquainted | Swift J 51 Leach offers to bring me acquainted with the author (also Ru S xxxiv, Hawth

S 240, etc.) | Fox 1.121 experience would gradually bring things right.

Send: God save the King! Send him victorious, etc. | Thack N 499 her eyes send me wild | Galsw D 229 she sends me mad | id TL 49 A strange man would send him crazy | Kennedy CN 62 a smile of deliberate insolence which sent her pale with fury.

Drive: this will drive him mad (crazy)—from an extension of *drive one out of his senses* (e. g. Hazlitt A 84) | Goldsm 666 he'll drive me distracted (†).

Throw (rare): Bennett A 66 the interview with her father threw her late.

3.4. *Set:* Marlowe J 2174 I'le set Malta free | Thack N 39 the book which set poor dear Tom wild to go to India | Bennett A 141 she sets the kitchen-clock five minutes fast.

On *set the clock going* see vol. IV 12.2(1) and below under Gerund.

Put: Put one wise (mentioned in Galsw Sw 60 as an Americanism) is becoming pretty frequent in recent British writers, e. g. Bennett LR 247 I'll put you wise about German mutinies | Galsw Sw 37 An engine-driver ... had put Jon 'wise' to the mystery of getting level combustion | Mackenzie PR 290 I was going to put him wise to the job on the trip across || Defoe Rox 306 it put me so beside myself that I rose up in a rage | Di D 724 he said this to put us in good heart | Wells V 72 trying to put every one at their ease.

Put out: Defoe G 148 we put a boy out apprentice | id Rox 184 he was put out apprentice ... to a mean trade.

Lay in frequent combinations with adjectives like *bare, dry, open, waste.* Mi SA 1239 lest I ... lay thy structure low.

Turn: Di D 68 these thoughts turned me burning hot | Galsw D 182 the clutch of his hands turned her

faint | Beaconsf L 405 is it the dress that turns them out such swells?

Spread: Freeman Th 408 the prospect of having to spread her butter mighty thin for the rest of her life.

3.5. In connexion with these verbs of movement we may mention *take*, *get* and *have*, the first chiefly frequent with *prisoner(s)* as P in the object.

Get: Sh Alls I. 3.8 Get you gone (also Ml E 441, Greene J 4.366, etc.) | Goldsm 618 so get you both gone together into the next room | Austen M 224 he will do everything in his power to get you made [a lieutenant] | Caine C 81 I get myself reported | McKenna Sh 172 the great thing was to get the book talked about | Shaw P 132 Get your wound attended to | ib 275 do you think there is time to get him shaved | id D 210 I did it to get her rid of me || Shelley L 952 we will soon get her well here | Collins M 361 it would be a relief to me to get the meeting between us over. Cf. *get* to form a passive vol. IV 8.8.

3.61. *Have:* Sh Gent III. 1.98 If she doe chide, 'tis not to haue you gone | Swift 3.88 the Court, impatient to have me gone | Defoe R 2.70 those three savages, which they had prisoners (rare) || Sh Hml IV. 3.57 Ile haue him hence to night | Bunyan G 107 they would not be at quiet till they had me away | Di N 629 a strong feeling to have it over | Stevenson JHF 218 the King had his son into his treasury | Collins W 589 We had the boy upstairs | Di D 579 he went to a dentist's in London, and had a tooth out | Huxley L 72 I have had all my teeth out | I'll have him up for that [= before a magistrate].

It may be doubtful whether we have an object of result in

He will not have his name known (e. g. BJo A 2.483) | Di P 149 I shouldn't like to have it known that she was so much attached to me.

3.6₂. The chief use of *have* that concerns us here is that found in combinations with second participles. *I had a box made* means 'I caused a box to be made' 'I made some one make (me) a box'.

Examples: Ch G 133 She ... Had next hir flesh y-clad hir in an heyre | Marlowe T 1512 Or els I sweare to haue you whipt stark nak'd | id F 1261 I had them brought hither | Sh H4A III. 1.116 Ile not haue it alter'd | Defoe P 41 to have their fortunes told them | Swift J 121 The country members are violent to have past faults inquired into | Goldsm V 1.160 we should have our pictures done too | Sheridan 280 if you have a mind to have justice done you | Quincey 33 Once in three or four months he would have the horses saddled and brought out | Brontë V 197 a dressmaker. She had me measured | Stevenson JHF 148 how I have had London ransacked | Bennett RS 17 I must have that seen to | Shaw M 89 There is some mistake: where can I have it set right?

These constructions (which should be compared with those in 2.7) serve in some measure to avoid a passive infinitive (*has the book bound = has the book be bound*, which would be parallel to the use with an intransitive verb: *has the boy come*, cf. 2.7).

3.6₃. It may be worth while to print separately some examples of combinations like *had had*, etc.

Di M 8 he had had her christened Mercy | id D 205 he was some years older than when he had had his picture painted | Butler W 8 His uncle had had him taught Latin and Greek | id ER 305 gold, which I had had made into small bars | NP 1923 During the days just past, he had done, or had had done for him by his assistant, a considerable number of odds and ends of routine work | Bennett P 51 Have you had me taught to do anything else? | Wells F 25 my father still possesses the stout oak box he had had made to emigrate withal.

On the word-order in such nexuses with *have* see 4.3_5.

After Other Verbs.

3.7. As a matter of fact any verb, whether transitive or intransitive, may be combined with a simple nexus to denote the result or consequence of the action or state implied in the main verb. This idiomatic usage is highly characteristic of the English language, though found to nearly the same extent in Danish.

In the following lists such verbs are arranged alphabetically.

3.71. The P of the nexus is an adjective:

Williamson S 187 a draught of air *banged* the door shut (American; in England more often: *banged ... to*) | Kipling J 2.84 I could *beat* thy head flat as a dead frog | to beat someone hollow | Jerrold C 4 The dog would ... *bite* us all mad | they had *bled* the natives white | Brontë W 192 strong winds had *blown* some [trees] nearly horizontal | she *boiled* the eggs hard | Galsw SS 314 why, it would *bore* you stiff! (very common, found e. g. in Locke, Oppenheim, Rose Macaulay, Maxwell; also *bore ... blue*) | Brontë J 107 I had *brushed* my hair very smooth | Wells V 309 We'll *clean* up everything tidy | he *copied* the poem fair | Tenn 226 I *cried* myself well-nigh blind | Scott A 2.5 ye'll cry yoursel as hoarse as a corbie | *crop* (cut) the hair close | Kingsley H 253 She *cut* the interview short | Sh Mcb V. 3.11 the diuell *damne* thee blacke, thou cream-fac'd loone! | Ven 552 she will *draw* his lips rich treasure drie | Marlowe E 961 | Sh Mcb I. 3.18 Ile *dreyne* him as drie as hay | Oth II. 3.84 he *drinkes* you with facillitie your Dane dead drunke | Macaulay H 2.173 they were drinking themselves drunk with the Zoyland cider | *dye* the dress black | Sh Cor I. 3.92 *fill* Ithaca full of mothes | Stevenson MB 321 Mrs Turner can fill him full of sordid scandal | Locke CA 132 I strode to the window and *flung* it open | Maxwell BY 89 the blood rose in her face and *flushed* it scarlet | Sh Tw II. 5.12 we will *foole*

him blacke and blew | Golding SD 533 *frightened* almost silly | Sh LLL IV. 3.334 A louers eyes will *gaze* an eagle blinde | Di T 1.46 the fabulous mill which *ground* old people young | Kipl S 58 *hammering* it [the trunk] open | Myers M 229 he *jerked* it [the door] open | Mc Kenna Ninety 173 *kicking* the door shut behind him | Maugham Alt 1401 you *killed* it stone-dead | Swinburne E 571 With a bridegroom that *kisses* the bride's mouth dead | Lewis B 258 I'd *perjure* myself black in the face | Sh Err II. 2.194 They'll *pinch* vs blacke and blew | Jameson F 128 He *pressed* his mouth tightly shut | Burke Am 32 The ocean remains. You cannot *pump* this dry | Bennett A 32 He *pushed* the gate open | Meredith H 78 we'll *put* it [the clock] right (adv.?) | he *rolled* the grass very smooth | Holmes A 189 you can *row* yourself blind and black in the face in ten minutes | Swift 3.308 to *rub* their skins smooth | Benson A 201 the kiss that *sealed* her his | Di Do 143 to *set* Walter's fortunes quite square | Ru Sel 1.254 we can *shake* our common sense free of such teaching | Kipl L 26 he had shaken himself clear of his enemy | Swift 3.283 to *shoot* me dead | Tenn 413 let me *shrive* me clean, and die | Canfield Her Son's Wife 100 opening drawers and *slamming* them shut | Di N 738 You ... have not yet *slept* yourself sober | Bennett H XIV Most people sleep themselves stupid | Di F 633 Conscience *smote* the gentle Twemlow pale | Am NP 1912 he *snapped* his watch shut | GE M 1.142 he should *stain* his face brown | Shaw StJ 21 She may *strike* the lot of us dead | Swift 3.347 (and often) I *stripped* myself stark naked (cf. Ch E 1958) | Lawrence L 194 I don't believe in stripping wounds bare | Spect 197 a gentleman that had *studied* himself dumb | she *swept* the room clean | Osborne 94 till wee had both *talked* our selv's weary enough to goe to bed | Norris P 53 he can talk you blind about literature | Rose Macaulay P 175 he used to talk one sick about how little scope he had in his parish | Masefield

S 315 it is like a trumpeter *trumpeting* the graves open | Sh Ado IV. 1.142 the wide sea Hath drops too few to *wash* her cleane againe (cf. As III. 2.442) | Kipl L 190 the constant strain had *worn* his nerves thin | Sh Mcb IV. 3.2 *weepe* our sad bosomes empty | Wells B 20 he was *wetting* his stump of pencil as wet as he could | Stevenson V 18 she could *wonder* herself crazy over the human eyebrow | *work:* Sh H4B IV. 4.119 the labour of his minde Hath wrought the mure, that should confine it in, So thinne that life lookes through | Hewlett O 455 he worked himself crimson in the face | Tylor A 341 thought tends to work itself clear | Galsw Sw 277 Then Jon *wrenched* himself free | Ridge S 40 good temper *written* large on everyone's face (cf. Mi F. of C. New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large).

Note the different points of view in *they shot him dead* and *they burnt him alive*—two different ways of putting him to death.

3.7₂. The P of the nexus is an adverb or a prepositional phrase:

Priestley G 556 She *acted* everybody clean off the stage | Carlyle S 115 *blow* thee suddenly out of Space | ib 121 | Di N 49 when the guard had blown himself quite out of breath | Pinero B 263 Fletcher's been *boring* our heads off on the subject of arbitration | Di H 53 they'll *bother* her head off | Doyle S 1.108 he *bowed* her into an armchair | Wells Fm 12 he wanted to *buy* me out of my bungalow | Brontë W 56 you've *combed* my hair quite out of curl | Di P 351 The sister ... *cried* her eyes out | id D 42 Peggotty *curtsied* herself out of the room | id Ch 171 And here we are, to play it [the new year] in and *dance* it in | Gissing C 62 when he has *dined* himself into good humour | Sh Oth III. 3.38 *discourse* The freezing houres away | Wiv I. 1.179 the gentleman had *drunk* himselfe out of his fine sentences | By DJ 3.66 A genius who has drunk himself to death | Tenn 225 he drank himself into his

grave | Kipl L 207 he had drunk all the officers under the table | Zangwill NP 1897 *eating* his father out of house and home [Maugham TL 157 and Benson A 101 out of hearth and home, in the same sense GE L 229 he'll eat you up] | Stevenson M 220 to *explain* away his interest | Sheridan 335 a surgeon who designs to *frighten* a little money out of him | Mrs Browning A 10 And *kissing* full sense into empty words | Sh Tp II. 1.181 *laugh* me asleepe | Mcb V. 7.12 ... weapons [I] laugh to scorne (AV Mark 5.40) | Spect 162 Will laughed this off at first | Fielding T 3.77 she could neither laugh nor reason her cousin out of these apprehensions | Maxwell S 118 Dyke jovially laughed away this notion | Collins W 298 You can't *lie* yourself out of the scrape now | Swinb L 163 It is a bad time for us all; we must *live* it down as we best may (common) | Sh Cor V. 2.68 a Jacke gardant cannot *office* me from my son | Congreve 234 pretty miss, don't let 'em *persuade* you out of your innocency | Shaw StJ 55 The organ is *playing* the people out of the nave after coronation | Browning 1.257 make haste ... to *pray* The one spot from his soul away | BJo 3.228 a preacher that would *preach* folk asleep | Carlyle S 128 the hot Harmattan wind has *raged* itself out | Sh Merch IV. 1.139 Till thou canst *raile* the scale from off my bond | BJo 3.228 they *read* themselves asleep on those books | Doyle St 132 the man's novel, with which he had read himself to sleep | Fielding T 1.214 she hoped to *reason* herself entirely out of her unfortunate passion | Tenn 277 *Ring* out the old, ring in the new | Kipl L 147 All the church bells in London could not *ring* Maisie back to him | Carroll L 13 there'll be no one here to *scold* me away from the fire | Scott A 1.208 were I caliph for a day, I would *scourge* me these jugglers out of the commonwealth with rods of scorpions | Carroll L 15 Lily was nearly *screaming* herself into a fit | Di OT 174 to *shake* the snow off his coat | Macaulay E 4.28 Clive *shamed* them

into courage | Shaw 2.90 I shamed the Guardians out of accepting your tender | Austen E 106 he *sighed* and *smiled* himself off | Bunyan P 54 the man had *sinned* himself quite out of hopes of Gods mercy | Sh Oth IV. 1.200 she will *sing* the sauagenesse out of a bear | Macaulay E 4.306 nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad | Maugham Alt 217 till he had *slept* his liquor off | Lawrence L 137 Poor little thing, she's *sobbing* her heart out | Stevenson T 14 *stare* me down | Shaw 2.149 your father is trying to *starve* you into returning to Oxford | Sh Ant V 2.313 my baby at my breast, That *suckes* the nurse asleepe | Di D 221 poor relations ready to *swarm* the Doctor out of house and home | Brontë W 24 I'll not do anything, though you should *swear* your tongue out | Bennett B 234 swear the doctors to secrecy | Shaw D 18 swearing a Peculiar into prison | Greene F 2.41 *talk* yourself asleep | Austen E 172 she had talked her into love; but, alas! she was not so easily to be talked out of it | Maxwell F 13 You'd talk the hind leg off a donkey (Bennett HL 48 off a horse) | Shaw A 143 Talking money out of other people's pockets into his own | Ru S 46 you may *tease* or *tickle* it [a mob] into any [feeling] | Locke GP 273 Anybody can *think* himself into hell in half an hour | he *walked* us off our legs | Doyle S 1.12 he *waved* me to an armchair | Shelley 182 the season fair and mild When April has *wept* itself to May | Wells V 236 she attempted by a sheer act of will to end the scene, to *will* herself out of it anywhere | Spect 17 they *worked* them out of the favour of the people | Trollope Aut 224 the author has *written* himself out.

Some of these are not very far removed from ordinary objects after verbs of motion + an adverb, cf. for instance: Caine M 400 Philip beckoned him close | Wells V 330 it seemed to her that if they put their hands jointly against the Alps and pushed they would be able to push them aside | ib 331 he forced his attention back to the map.

Compare also Mi A 30 admit me of thy crew [= one of thy crew], which means the same thing as *admit me into (in) thy crew*.

3.7a. The P in a nexus-object may be a subjunct-predicative (on the meaning of this term see vol. III 18.8): Di D 132 a state of delight, that made his face *a burning red* | ib 723 an affection that made his eyes red, and his hair *all kinds of shapes* | Bennett W 2.335 she found the mistress *the colour of a duck's egg* | Browning 2.215 I wish they'd find a way to dye our hair *your colour* | Di D 245 I never saw him *such good company*.

Border cases.

3.8. Here, as in most chapters of the grammar of any language, it is well-nigh impossible to circumscribe the limits of the phenomenon of nexus-object so as to exclude a different analysis of some cases. Thus, as there is an adverb *close* alongside of *closely*, we may say that we have the adverb in "he shaved his beard close", which sentence was given above as an example of a nexus-object with *close* as an adjective, and the same uncertainty may prevail in combinations like "he spelt the words all wrong", "cut the interview short" and a great many other idiomatic expressions, the meaning of which cannot be understood immediately from the meaning of the components by themselves, e. g.

They *cut* each other *dead* in the street | Ru P 1.315 he would have *run* the margin *fine* | Kipl L 36 I ran it fine | NP 1912 The authors have *cast* their net *wide* | Di D 117 you *take* things *so easy*. No use taking 'em otherwise | Kipl S 149 you *caught* it *pretty hot* | Bennett A 223 If I catch anything [i. e. cold, disease] I *catch* it *bad* and get it over quickly.

Other border cases are combinations in which an adjective is added in a kind of apposition to a substantive to describe one particular state of the thing, as in:

they roasted an ox whole | eat the meat raw | swallow the tabloid whole | I drink my tea very weak | Galsw T 118 she likes flowers, and likes them strong (cf. above 2.8_1) | Thack N 53 we like our turtle good, I can tell you—good and a good deal of it | Lawrence L 188 You shall have even five [cups of tea], if you don't mind the last two weak | he had the answer ready | Hope D 6 he wore his hair long, and his trousers short and his hat on the back of his head.

A pun between the two employments of *long* is found in: Zangwill G 143 men of genius have long hair. It comes cheaper; they wear it long for the same reason that they wear their hats long.

Chapter IV.

Various Remarks on Nexus-Objects.

Nexus-Object after *of*.

4.1. An object consisting of a simple nexus is sometimes preceded by the preposition *of*, chiefly after a gerund (cf. 8.4_2).

Bacon A 35.28 for the making of the earth fruitfull | Spect 781 I mean, by the enjoyment of my possessions, the making of them useful to the publick | Sterne M 1.171 nor do I maintain the wiping of a looking-glass clean to be a syllogism | Carlyle P 177 All works, each in their degree, are the making of madness sane | Dowden Shelley 441 the rendering of justice cheap, speedy, and secure | Spencer F 12 a making of existing words more precise | Benson A 362 happiness lies in the making of others happy | Lawrence Publ ML Ass 1909.243 The naming of him Hjalti in the saga is only an invention of the saga-man | Mason Ch 53 the service they [men] give to the keeping of them [women] beautiful | NP 1928 the maintenance of France intact.

Case in a Simple Nexus as Object.

4.2. The question of case can only arise with pronouns; the natural thing is to put both members of the nexus-object in the oblique case; still we find in rare instances the nominative (here placed after ||). In the first quotation the nom. may be due to the distance from *make;* in the others to a vague feeling of the second member as a predicative, or possibly to hypergrammatical teaching, which makes educated people shy of using an isolated oblique form (in the same way as *than me* is corrected into *than I*, etc.).

Sh R2 IV. 1.174 God save the King, although I be not hee; And yet, Amen, if heauen doe thinke him mee | Austen M 265 if there is a girl capable of being uninfluenced by ambition, I can suppose it her || Sh R2 IV. 1.216 God Make me, that nothing haue, with nothing grieu'd, And thou with all pleas'd, that hast all achieu'd | Mrs. Orr, Handb. to Browning 56 thinking of its happiest men and women, fancying herself they | Wells Cl 469 the one wise thing before her, which was to make herself Philip's only woman and he her only man | Kipl Coll Verse 107 To the hush of our dread high-altar Where the Abbey makes us We [= makes us what we are].

The following example may be ranged with those collected in vol. III 17.8_5 (loose nexuses after *and*), cf. 6.8_5: Wells Cl 141 I see Dickon with a white face staring blankly ahead of him, his eyes glassy with unshed tears, and I beside him waiting until it should please him to speak.

Word-Order in Nexus-Objects.

4.31. As a rule what is here symbolized S precedes P in a nexus-object, in the same way as the subject generally is placed first in a complete sentence.

To obtain this order it is necessary, if S is an infini-

tive (which in its turn may have objects, etc., attached to it) or a clause, to represent these preliminarily by *it* so as to prevent the sentence from being 'top-heavy' Compare the similar use of *it* as a preparatory subject in an ordinary sentence. This *it* is symbolized s (Anal Synt. 8.9; 28.4 "lesser subject").

With the following exemples may be compared the great number printed by J. Ellinger in *Anglia Beiblatt*, Sept. 1928.

Sh Ado II. 1.67 I hold it a sinne to match in my kinred | Mi PL 4.427 God hath pronounc't it death to taste that tree | Fielding 3.495 the captain apprehended it impossible to avoid the Goodwin sands | Cowper L 1.69 they who account it good sport to traduce | Sheridan 277 I make it a rule never to look into a newspaper | Stevenson JHF 81 I shall consider it my duty to break in that door | id T 250 I think it most probable ... that you'll all have the deuce to pay | he made it clear enough that he did not care a pin for us.

The formula for "I find it difficult to believe this" is S V O(s_2 P S_2(I O_2)).

Very rarely the S of a nexus-object is an interrogatory clause as in Hart BT 262 We need not let which one she actually procured give us great concern (better: let it ... which one ...).

Note the curious word-order in the following sentence in which a relative clause is separated from its antecedent in order to have the P as early as possible: Swift J 248 we ought not to make a man a Bishop who does not love divinity, or a General who does not love war.

4.3₂. The P may be placed before the S if it is short and forms as it were one sense-unit with the verb. We have here practically the same rule as in the two combinations *pull out the tooth* and *pull it out.*

With an adjective as P: *push (force, swing) open the door*— but *push it open:*

More U 46 untyll they haue *worne threde bare* their

apparell | Caxton R 92 *make good* by suffycient witnessis that I haue trespaced; cf. ib 102 | Conway C 46 by now they must have made good their retreat (note the meaning 'effect') | Sh Merch II. 6.49 I will *make fast* the doores | Lr III. 2.7 *strike flat* the thicke rotundity o' th' world | H4A III. 2.91 *Make blinde* it selfe with foolish tendernesse [here the metre may have been the reason; now rather 'make itself blind'] | Spect 93 to *let alone* all disputes (cf. let it alone) | Walpole Cp 135 she must ... *make clear* his plans both for himself and her | Sh Mcb IV. 3.232 *Cut short* all intermission | Scott Iv 159 your highness must *break short* the present mummery | Allen W 39 what he can do to *make happy* this sweet soul he loves | Spect 171 *keeping holy* the seventh day | Thack N 267 Honeyman *whisks open* the piano in a moment | Di Do 232 to *set open* the desk | Browning 1.408 *split open* the kegs of salted sprats | *lay waste* the country | Dickinson War 113 with the main idea of *bleeding white* the defeated countries.

Compare on the other hand:

Keats 2.138 *burst* them [the portals] *wide* | Ward F 178 walking to the door and *throwing* it *wide* | *cut* him *short*.

4.3₃. Examples with adverbs:

Sh Wiv I. 1.204 we shall *drinke downe* all unkindnesse | Austen M 308 *explaining away* that shape of the head | GE M 2.43 it seemed to me that I could *think away* all my duty | Hughes T 2.261 to *snore off* the effects of his debauch | Mulock H 2.215 He had *lived down* all slanders | Archer A 154 we have still to live down our wars with the United States | Gissing B 366 M *laughed down* his excuses.

4.3₄. Such constructions with P preposed enable one to do without the pronoun *it* as a preliminary indication of an infinitive, etc., thus:

Bacon A 7.31 I thought good to call our company together | Stevenson B 10 I think shame to leave him

-lying (cf. the ordinary *think it a shame to* ...) | Defoe R 208 the reader will not think strange if I confess [now with *it*] | Brontë V 360 thinking no harm to put off prayers till afterwards.

This is particularly frequent with *fit*, where it may be due to a desire to avoid the cacophony of *it fit:*

Bacon A 22.3 our law-giver thought fit altogether to restraine it | Swift 3.389 if those think fit to be of another opinion | he has seen fit to escape.

4.3s. It will be well to deal separately with the word-order PS after the verb *have*, because there may be some confusion with the perfect:

Sh Merch III. 5.71 The foole *hath planted* in his memory An armie of good words | ib IV. 1.366 Thou *hast not left* the value of a cord | Bunyan P 23 he had nothing left him but rags ... he *had* presently *left him*, nothing but raggs | ib 41 I *had given me* a roll sealed to comfort me by reading | Trollope Aut 241 All those who are struggling for success *have forced* upon them the idea that their strongest efforts ... | Galsw D 94 she could not *have had graven* on her heart a vision more indelible | O'Brien Russell 261 After her conviction I wrote and *had printed* a memorandum which is, I presume, preserved at the Home Office | Holmes A 62 Scientific knowledge, even in the most modest persons, *has mingled* with it a something which partakes of insolence.

Note that in *I had given me* ... the pronoun would have been *myself* if *had given* had been the pluperfect of *give.*

Have must necessarily come immediately before the participle if the sentence begins with an interrogative or relative pronoun (which then must symbolized $\frac{1}{2}$S, see AnalS 16.4); here the formal distinction between *have* + nexus-object and the perfect is obliterated, at any rate in writing. In the two first sentences the addition of *him* and *us* and in some others the composite

forms *have had broken* and *have had taken* make the meaning perfectly clear:

Sh Ado II. 1.260 all that Adam had left him before he transgrest | R2 V. 2.62 It is a matter of small consequence, Which for some reasons I would not haue seene | Defoe Rox 49 to receive the dismal news, which I had brought to me about five o'clock | Peacock M 259 What do you wish to have explained? | Di D 103 my old plate which Peggotty ... would not have had broken for a hundred pounds | Wells H 73 a bunch of the best roses which Sir Isaac hated to have picked | Stevenson T (p. ?) What hope had I left of reaching England? | Walpole Cp 52 holes in the bedroom ceiling ... holes that your father would never trouble to have mended.

Split Object.

4.4. The simple nexus which is the object of a verb may itself be split into two, separated by the main verb, if for some reason its S is placed at the beginning of the sentence. This may be due to stylistic reasons:

Di D 21 the black beard he shaved close every day. Thus the infinitives in Walton A 177 to do so, they account a profanation | Hunt A 121 To frame a written B he pronounced a thing impossible.—Note without *to* Sh Wiv I. 3.32 steale ... Convay the wise it call: *convey* as quotation-word is the P of the dependent nexus.

More often it is due to the necessity of placing an interrogative or relative pronoun first:

Whom did he made happy, did you say? | Sh Per I. 4.96 giue them life, whom hunger staru'd halfe dead | Mi PL 5.603 I have begot whom I declare my onely son | Lowell St 274 a certain everydayness of phrase, which Dryden never wholly refined away | Galsw FS 266 this woman, whom he had always thought so soft and mild.

The distinction between *he had bound the book* (pluperfect) and *he had the book bound* disappears after an interrogative or relative pronoun: *the book which he had bound*, but only in writing, for in the spoken language the former would be [hi· d baund] and the latter [hi· hæd baund]. Cf. 4.3_5.

Incomplete Nexus-Object.

4.5. In very rare cases we find nexus-objects without the S expressed, as in Bunyan G 4 he woundeth, and his hands *make whole* | Carlyle FR 98 Morellet could be so happy in *making happy* | Longfellow 260 (and Shaw P 229) Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they *grind exceeding small* | When you *saw fit*, you left me.

It is hardly possible to say, e. g. "Love makes blind" or "Mere wealth does not make happy", which would sound as a kind of proverbs, but in ordinary language one always says "Love makes a man blind", "Mere wealth does not make people (or one) happy", etc.

Nexus-objects without S are frequent in relative contact-clauses, e. g. this is the man we thought honest | he sold all the books he had just had bound | Harraden S 17 I want to show you a beautiful photo I've had taken. Other examples in vol. III 7.2_4.

Split Subject.

4.61. A necessary consequence of the view given in 1.7, according to which *them happy* is considered the object of *made* in "he made them happy" is that in the corresponding passive sentence "they were made happy" *they*, though formally the subject which determines the form of the verb (*I am made happy*, etc.), is not the whole notional subject: this consists of two parts *they* and *happy* (cf. PhilGr 119, vol. III 11.9, AnalS ch. 16). We use the term Split Subject for such cases.

The formula for "she was thought innocent" is ½S V^b ½S(P), for "they were made happy" ½S V^b ½S(P^r).

Examples: Sh Wiv V. 5.124 I do begin to perceiue that I am made an asse | Tro V. 4.13 that same dog-foxe Ulisses is not prou'd worth a black-berry | AV 1 Tim 2.7 I am ordained a preacher | Swift J 218 This noble person and I were brought acquainted by Lady B. | Franklin 11 My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades | Masefield M 194 all confusion was let loose | Di N 610 Mrs N had been taken very faint | id D 83 the boys were all struck speechless (id Do 45 was stricken speechless) | Macaulay E 2.88 He was sworn in Privy-councellor | Shaw 2.169 He is instantly smitten self-conscious | London A 94 The black had been knocked helpless | Norris S 279 Wilbur was for a moment smitten rigid | Shaw P 144 a grinning fellow, burnt almost black by the sun | GE Mm 142 There are men who don't mind about being kicked blue | Zangwill G 242 not though that backbone were picked clean of every scrap of flesh | the door was blown shut (heard in Scotland and America; in England the phrase is: ... blown to) | Williamson S 53 the door was slammed shut upon us all four | Mered T 81 Poet, novelist, essayist, dramatist, shall be ranked honourable in my Republic | Bennett HL 372 you might be taken dizzy again.

No passive is possible to "I want it brought to my office," etc., corresponding to the Danish "dette ønskes (bedes) bragt til mit kontor"

Corresponding to the cases mentioned in 2.7₅ Carlyle FR 63 an expedient has been propounded, and ... has been got adopted | ib 257 the blaze of insurrection is got damped down.

4.6₂. Examples with adverbs and prepositional phrases:

Di D 99 mornings when we were rung out of bed ... nights when we were rung into bed again | Stevenson

MB (p. ?) all danger might be considered at an end | Austen P 130 how heartily they were wished away by some of the family | Phillips P 57 Love can be sweated out of a man by hard riding | Macaulay E 4.326 his friends were coughed and scraped down | Spect 168 one of the footmen had been frighted out of his wits by a spirit | Keane World's Peoples 32 if the flesh is found to their taste.

A special case is *with child* as predicative of the passive *be got* (rare nowadays):

Spect 75 the story of a lady's being got with child by one of these | Masefield W 50 Bessie, the gipsy, got with child by Ern.

4.6₃. Examples of subjunct-predicatives: By DJ 6.85 Her neck ... was found *The colour of a budding rose's crest* | Gissing R 152 the hills, which now were coloured *the deepest, richest green* | Shaw 2.208 her complexion has been burnt *biscuit color.*

Simple Nexus as Subject or Predicative.

4.7. In rare cases a nexus of the type (SP) may stand as the subject or predicative of a sentence:

Three such rascals hanged in one day is good work for society | These difficulties overcome makes the rest easy (these two from Curme, Syntax p. 156, where they are given as "nominative absolute in subject clauses", together with examples of participles in *ing*, which I should take as gerunds) | Goldsm 662 I shall perhaps make an acquaintance, and that's no small victory gained over one who ... | [N. Jacob Lie 266 That's another nightmare ended] | Trollope B 452 that is one difficulty over | Kennedy CN 97 It would be a weight off my mind | Galsw FM 243 It's a great weight off my mind.—It's rather a weight on my wife's, I'm afraid.

With these should be compared the examples collected in vol. III 11.1_2: too many cooks: adjunct instead of nexus.

Chapter V.

Simple Nexus as Regimen of a Preposition.

A preposition may take a nexus (S P) as its regimen. In ordinary language this is chiefly the case after the preposition *with*. This is not strange as *with* means nearly the same thing as the participle *having*, and *have* is often used with a nexus-object: the parallelism is seen clearly in AV 1. Cor. 11.4 Euery man, praying or prophecying, *hauing* his head couered, dishonoureth his head. But euery woman that prayeth or prophesieth *with* her head vncouered, dishonoureth her head.

5.1₁. The P in such a nexus is very often an adjective: Sh H4B IV. 4.103 Will Fortune neuer come with both hands full? | Tp II. 1.214 to be asleepe with eyes wide open | Cowper L 1.310 I sit with all the windows and the door wide open | Kipl S 252 you sneak back with her kisses hot on your lips | Di N 44 speaking with his mouth very full of beef and toast | Shaw IW 363 Why should I wash my hands if I am quite comfortable with them dirty? | Locke S 322 W., with the fear of Zora heavy upon him.

5.1₂. The P is a first participle:

Sh Ado II. 1.254 I stood like a man at a marke, with a whole army shooting at me | Walton A 204 they are to be fish'd for there, with your hook alwaies touching the ground | Di N 39 he sat with his arms hanging straight down by his sides | id T 2.185 with his long brown hair, all untrimmed, hanging loose about him [N.B.: *untrimmed* in apposition; *hanging* P in a nexus] | Bennett C 1.282 Another procession came up, with standards floating and drums beating | Galsw C 159 I can't write with you standing there.

A second participle:

Ch T 4.358 And with his chere and loking al to-torn ... with his armes folden, He stood ... | Mi S 119

with languished head unpropt | Brontë J 170 he fell asleep with his candle lit | Di F 845 taking leave of you here, with your whole course unexplained | Ru P 1.21 all the glory of Monday, with church seven days removed again | Browning 1.199 Morning? It seems to me a night with the sun added | Stevenson T 130 and with no time lost, I returned to the shore | Kipl S 270 the beastly look on Stalky's face, with his nostrils all blown out | Barrie Adm Cr 46 a haughty, aristocratic English house, with every one kept in his place | Maxwell W 258 with her proved to be false, the sense of reality came to an end | Dreiser AT 2.345 he was arraigned for sentence, with Mrs. Griffiths [N.B. O[1]] given a seat near him and seeking to make notes.

5.1₃. The P of the nexus may be a possessive pronoun (N.B. in the form that is usually used as a primary), a subjunct-predicative (see vol. III 18.8), or a relative clause:

Mackenzie SA 33 she could not fret for long with Edward hers now whatever happened | Kennedy R 333 There was a smell of rain in the air: a hint, already, that the brightness would not last. "Storms!" thought Philip ... "I don't wonder, with the sky that colour" | Galsw Ca 454 you couldn't have everything on four pound ten a week—with the price of living what it was | Ferber S 251 no truck garden is going to make its owner rich these days, with labour so high and the market what it is | Walpole OL 198 with her heart as it is anything can happen.

5.1₄. The P may be a substantive, but then we generally have *to* (†), *for*, or *as* before it (cf. vol. IV 23): Sh Tro IV. 1.29 let him dye: With euery ioynt a wound | Zangwill G 187 a drama ... with the central figure not a woman | Merriman VG 61 Navarre, more priest-ridden than Rome herself, with every man a Carlist and every woman that which her confessor told her to be || Spenser FQ I. 1.28 with God to frend | Cowper

L 2.313 with you for an interpreter I shall be afraid of none of them | Masefield W 22 it [life] begins again with you for friend | Collins M 285 capable even of keeping the peace, with Rachel for one of the combatants | Shaw M 21 want to write a great play with Ann as the heroine | Beresford R 136 a return to the patriarchal system—with me as the patriarch | NP With Lloyd George as Prime Minister anything may be expected.

Note the order in NP 1916 the liberal party, with as its most effective leader, Mr. N. N.

5.1ₛ. Very often the P is an adverb or a prepositional group:

Deloney 58 having an old ragged doublet ... with his hose out at the heeles | Di L 51 a dirty man with his hat on | Trollope W 210 young ladies with their veil down | Galsw F 94 It was pitch-black outside, with the moon not yet up | id WM 292 If only she could stay like that and wake up with it all over! | Shaw P 257 You cannot very well receive Sidi with your sleeve half out | Benson A 351 like a house shut up with blinds down and shutters closed | Locke CA 313 With me there she wouldn't be frightened || Ch B 310 For I am perilous with knyf in honde | Swift J 230 I lie with nothing but the sheet over me, and my feet quite bare | Bosw 2.75 he will be Atlas with the burthen off his back | GE M 1.71 With sister Glegg in this humour, there was a cheerful prospect for the day | Galsw D 75 he couldn't open it [letter] with Sylvia on one side of him, and old Tingle on the other | Stevenson T 128 With the men in the temper they were in, it seemed an even chance if we should see the lad again | Galsw SS 309 She oughtn't to be restless, with that case out of the way | Galsw TL 144 We don't get many like him now, with everybody in such a hurry | Shaw TT 148 You play with your cards on the table.

In vol. II 14.15 I quoted Scott Iv 233 he sate with his mouth a-gape | Coleridge B 43 with words and images all a-glow.

You as S in the nexus must be stressed in combinations like Shaw TT 48 Do you expect me to sleep with you in the room?—otherwise the meaning would be different.

5.16. It will be noticed that *with* has in most of these combinations a very vague meaning, very far removed from that in "he came with his wife"; it serves only to introduce an accessory or collateral circumstance, as seen very clearly in: James RH 179 she came the whole length of the immense room, with every one looking at her ... walking up to you with five hundred people looking at her.

Hence it is possible to have two *with*'s:

Butler ER 247 with George ever with me I have not been able to forget you | Elizabeth Expiation 100 It'll be so different with you with me, Aggie darling. Note also: He went abroad with a young lady with his poor wife hardly cold in her grave.

5.17. An interesting consequence of this vague meaning of *with* is that it is not infrequently followed by a combination which really neutralizes the ordinary meaning of *with*, exactly as we saw above "found her gone, found her not there" (1.7), as in Swift J 267 she stood, like us, with her hat off while the Queen went by | Gay BP 74 a skiff ... With her rudder broke, and her anchor lost | Di D 247 So, with a great weight taken off my mind, I turned into a by-street | id F 846 she sat looking in his face, with the colour quite gone from her own face | Masefield W 89 Look queer, the street will, with the lock away | London A 134 they might reach the coast right here, and with both of us absent rush the plantation | Walpole SC 279 it was so quiet with the trams not running and the shops all shut | Bennett RS 275 with Mr. Earlforward out of the way she would be her own mistress | Benson D 2.113 I hope I'm not just the same now, with all the prettiness and youth removed | Galsw TL 32 he drank a special kind of coffee with no coffee in it | Walpole C 232 I'll

work for it with my coat off | Masefield S 262 With me away, the Captain dies and the ship is lost | Russell Soc Reconstr 117 to imitate what they believe we really are, with only the hypocrisy omitted | Christie, Murder Bl. T. 194 I know that it is not decent to be speaking like this with my wife dead only a few days, and murdered at that.

5.2. Sh H6A III. 3.72 They set him free, without his ransome pay'd | Fielding 3.417 without any trial had [hardly possible now] | Di N 341 attempting to quit the room, without her permission first had and obtained | Froude RC 12 without permission given or asked for, he brought to me a large parcel of papers | Galsworthy D 79 three days later, without another word exchanged on the subject they started | Benson D 2.195 like a rose, full-blown, but without one petal yet fallen | Maxwell WF 39 I had you to myself—without somebody always between us | Shaw StJ 8 Joan was burnt without a hand lifted on her own side to save her | id A 181 She will relapse into the gutter without me at her elbow (= if she has not me at her elbow).

Simple Nexus after Other Prepositions.

5.3. With *after* this idiom is frequent with Milton, probably in imitation of Latin (*post Romam conditam*, etc.), thus PL 5.248 after his charge receivd | 10.332 after Eve seduc't | Co 48, PL 1.798, 3.552.

Cf. with the adjective before the sb Mi PL I. 573 since created man.

From other authors, where Latin influence is not so probable:

More U 55 after farmes pluckyd downe, and husbandry decayed | Redford W 239 After place gyvyn | ib 245 After eare gyvyn | ib 251 After eye given | Bunyan G 26 after much time spent | ib 46 crimes . . . committed after light and grace received | ib 47 after light and

mercy received (also id P 51) | Cowper L 2.91 after great civilities shown us, and many advances made on the part of the Throcks, we visit them | Di F 880 I shouldn't like to leave you, after all said and done, worse off in life than I found you | Ward M 222 it seemed that, after all said and done, the society of a woman ... [colloquially: after all is said] | Dickinson C 36 after proof made of their efficacy.

With *before:* Heywood P 193 before one dewty done.

5.4. After *of:*

Eastw 482 hast thou ever read of any lady and her waiting-woman driven to that extremity? | Poe S 303 under the circumstances of a large reward offered | Di D 565 the consciousness of many talents neglected, many opportunities wasted, many erratic and perverted feelings constantly at war within his breast, and defeating him | Galsw D 236 with a sensation of every limb gone weak.

Frequently as in Sh Wint V. 2.16 as they had *heard of a world* ransom'd, or one destroyed | Quincey O 275 Had any gentleman heard of a dauphin killed by small-pox?

5.5. After other prepositions:

Dryden Alex. F. 1: the royal feast for Persia won | Defoe Rox 156 I would have given half I had in the world for him back again [not possible now] | Shaw M 22 the tears are not for us, but for a father wasted, a son's breeding thrown away | Locke GP 6 her heart was always pricked with remorse for hurt inflicted | Hope Z 219 he wished her joy on a rival gone | Meredith E 67 she landed him with regret, as at a holiday over | Malory 249 By this done he was so faynt that unnethes he myght stand for bleeding | Thack V 336 returning the salute by two fingers applied to his crape hat-band.

So far as I know, the phenomenon of a nexus-object after a preposition has never been viewed in this light before; see further examples in Palm P § 20 (*after grace saide*, etc.: simply

contractions of "after grace having been said", etc.), § 21 ("stands in the place of a verbal noun"), § 49, 50, 142; Poutsma I p. 718; Kruisinga § 561 "the subject of an absolute participle ... *with*"; Curme CG 160 "the preposition serving both as a preposition and as a conjunction".—For French parallels see E. Lerch, "Prädikative partizipia für verbalsubstantiva", 42. beiheft zu Zs. f. roman. philologie, Halle 1912.

5.6. Sometimes the grammatical analysis is not certain, and one may hesitate between the nexus-construction just considered and an ordinary junction with the adjunct postposed:

Russell Soc. Reconstr. 89 to acquire ... the triumph of strong resistance overcome | ib 96 some sense of resistance overcome | Dreiser F 320 silent sorrow for many fine things gone | Mason 3G 50 the friendliness which comes from a pleasant secret shared | Kaye Smith T 112 the hour when he could look round on his ambition realized.

5.7. The use of a nominative in the following quotations seems to point to a transition to the construction to be considered in our next chapter:

Di F 388 I, with poor father's grave not even cleared of undeserved strain and shame, and he trying to clear it for me (cf. vol. III 17.8_5) | Shaw TT 53 ... with Sweetie sitting in the stern, and I stretched out at full length with my head pillowed on Sweetie's knees | Chancellor, Mystery of Norman's Court 1 I saw again a glamorous Egyptian night, with Helen and I standing together in the sequestered peace of Henry Jefferson's garden | Cf. also Sayers NT 76 What's to become of Miss Hilary now, with her mother and father gone so quick, and her only fifteen, and nobody to keep her in check.

Chapter VI.

A Simple Nexus as Tertiary.

6.1₁. The phenomenon we shall deal with here consists in a simple nexus (containing a subject and a predicative) placed as tertiary (subjunct) in a sentence. The ordinary names "absolute participle" and "absolute nominative" are inadequate, see Analytic Syntax 34.2 (Franz, Sh-gr² § 660 mentions the construction under the heading *participle* even where there is no participle! Curme, Synt. 152 ff. speaks of "Absolute Nominative in Adverbial Clauses" even when the case employed is an accusative, as on p. 154. He uses the term clause in a much looser way than I do, thus for everything that might have been expressed by a clause in my sense).

The analytic formula for the construction is 3(S P) or 3(P S). *He being dead* is 3(S P(Y P_2)). *Provided everything was conducted in style* (below 6.4_4) is 3(P S(S_2 V 3)). In some complicated cases the construction may be a quaternary, etc.

6.1₂. For the history of our construction (but only as far as participles are concerned) see Morgan Callaway, The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon. Baltimore 1889. Charles Hunter Ross, The Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English. Baltimore 1893 (chiefly statistics). Cf. Jespersen Growth § 125: It was introduced at an early period in imitation of the Latin construction. It is comparatively rare in Old English, where it occurs chiefly in close translations from Latin. In the first period of Middle English it is equally rare, but in the second period it becomes a little more frequent. Chaucer seems to have used it chiefly in imitation of the Italian construction, but this Italian influence died out with him, and French influence did very little to increase the frequency of the construction. In the beginning of the

Modern English period the absolute participle, though occurring more often than formerly, 'had not become thoroughly naturalized. It limited itself to certain favorite authors where the classical element largely predominated, and was used but sparingly by authors whose style was essentially English.' (Ross, p. 38). But after 1660, when English prose style developed a new phase, which was saturated with classical elements, the construction rapidly gained ground and was finally naturalized in the language.

On the other hand some of the applications are confined to literary style, though Onions is too categorical when he says (AS 67) that "except for stereotyped phrases like 'weather permitting', 'God willing', the colloquial use of the Nominative Absolute is almost restricted to *it being* ..., *there being* ... Its use with a pronoun as subject is limited apparently to cases in which *being* or *having* is the Participle ... But poetical usage is free; Tennyson, for example, writes: '*We sitting*, as I said, the cock crew loud'," Sweet NEG § 2351 uses even stronger language: "uncolloquial, but is by many felt to be un-English." Neither author mentions the frequency of the constructions exemplified below (6.4$_1$; all told, etc.). Some American professors of rhetoric and composition also reprehend 'absolute constructions' (though using them themselves, see Steinbach in American Speech 4.170 ff.).

6.2$_1$. The *case* of the S of these combinations was originally the dative (in imitation of the Latin ablative) as in OE Chron 797 *Gode fultomiendum* 'God helping'. But in ME all distinction between the dative and the nominative disappeared except from pronouns, and even here the nominative came to be gradually employed instead of the dative, the reason being that it preceded the participle, etc., and that it was felt to be the subject; another circumstance that may have favoured the nominative is that sometimes an apposition to the real

subject is hardly distinguishable from our construction, e. g.

Sh Hml III. 2.145 F: Enter a King and Queene, very louingly; the Queene embracing him; Q_2: Enter a King and a Queene, the Queene embracing him, and he her | Fielding T 2.42 The lovers stood both silent and trembling, Sophia being unable to withdraw her hand from Jones, and he almost as unable to hold it | Doyle S 1.36 they separated, he driving back to the Temple, and she to her own house | Caine C 382 John had seen Glory on the racecourse in Drake's company: he proud and triumphant, she bright and gay and happy | Ward M 36 the little picture of Ashe and Lady Kitty together—he bending over her in his large, handsome geniality, and she looking up.

6.2₂. With this may be compared sentences constructed in such a way that something looking like a nexus-tertiary is continued with its S as the real subject of the sentence. This was formerly pretty frequent and may still be found in journalese, though it is of course condemned by purists like Fowler:

Deloney 40 Hee seeing no remedy, committed himselfe to their mercy | ib 50 Her husband seeing this, would needes know the cause | Swift 3.107 He fell down at my feet; and the other seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape | ib 284 Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form (often in Swift) | Goldsmith V 1.83 for the neighbours hearing what was going forward, came flocking about us | Fielding 3.435 The snuff-box being produced, was at first civilly, and indeed, gently refused | Behn 318 He having writ and sealed this, tossed it into the balcony | Brontë V 173 Her son seeing me, came forward [note the comma here and in some of the preceding] | Thack P 581 These questions answered, and Pen being at a loss for more, luckily recollected his privilege as a member of the Press.

6.2₃. In a nexus-tertiary the two cases were used concurrently for some time; Ross quotes instances of the dative from Langland (B 3.280), Hoccleve, Paston Letters 1432 and Pecock, while the nominative is found in Cursor Mundi, in Chaucer (once or twice; E 700 What coude a sturdy housbond more devyse ... And he continuing ever in sturdinesse?), Gower (once), Wyclif (once), Hoccleve, Paston Letters (1452, 1454, etc.), Malory (eight times). From my own collections I may quote the following nominatives:

LondE 198 they taking (doubtful) | Bale T 735 The lawe of Nature I thynke Wyll not be able to wynke, Agaynst the assaultes of them They hauynge so hygh prelates And so manye great estates, From hens to Hierusalem | Lyly C 284 I urging him to give some answer, hee tooke vp a booke | Sh John III. 1.329 And in their rage, I having hold of both, They whirl asunder and dismember me | Tp V. 1.28 They being penitent (also Cor V. 4.37, R3 IV. 2.104, Errors III. 2.87) | Mi PL 10.1001 Let us seek Death, or hee not found, supply With our own hands his office on our selves (with *thou* as subject ib 9.312, 9.884) | Walton A 181 perch ... they being—like the wicked of the world, not afraid | Swift 3.2 But, my good Master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail | Goldsm 662 She still places herself before him, he turning away.—Other examples may be found here and there in the following paragraphs.

As the nominative here fulfils the ordinary business of a nominative, there is no reason why we should follow Ross and call it a "dative in disguise": we might just as well use that term in speaking of *I* in "I like that".

6.2₄. In recent renderings of dialectal or vulgar speech, we pretty often find an oblique case of a pronoun in our construction; this, however, is not a continuation of the old practice, but is due to the general dislocation

of the feeling for cases, e. g. GE Mm 97 me being a widow | Wells N 468 Look at all you've built up!—me helping | Barrie M 118 Maybe the dominie can clear it up, him being a scholar [also ib 30, 398] | Kaye Smith GA 242 this äun't the präaper time, me being but a weak human man.

This is even found sometimes where no representation of low-class speech is meant:

Brontë V 343 the most maddening of masters (him before me always excepted) | Bennett LR 140 But you see, him being here, in the room—I had to be careful | id ImpPal 260 [rich knight:] If I'd shut my mouth, absolutely they'd have used that to support their story me being a very large holder of North Atlantics | Mannin Conf 57 as we strode along, I doing my best to keep pace with him, and him reading aloud from some political economist or other, he would drag out a handful of nuts and munch them.

6.2s. Gill, Logon. 1619, mentions the nominative construction only. We are therefore surprised to find Milton using oblique cases a few times: PL 7.142 by whose aid This inaccessible high strength, the seat of Deity supreme, us dispossessed, He trusted to have seized | SA 463 Dagon hath presum'd, Me overthrown, to enter lists with God.

These oblique cases are generally supposed to be direct imitations of Latin syntax rather than a natural survival of the old construction. It should, however, be noticed that Milton uses the nominative with the first participle, and that all the early examples of the nominative are with this participle, as the feeling of a subject is naturally stronger there than with the second participle, where it may be taken as a virtual object: PL 9.130 For onely in destroying I finde ease To my relentless thoughts; and *him destroyd* [= when I have destroyed him] ... all this will soon follow. The diversity in Milton's usage may thus have some foundation

in linguistic psychology. As a matter of fact, I do not remember seeing a single instance in ModE of the nominative with a second participle (without *being*).

First Participle.

6.3₁. Ch B 4382 His sevene wyves walkynge by his syde | Harpsfield M 32 Whereat euery man holding his peace, then beganne he to speake | Sh Err V. 1.224 Our dinner done, and he not coming thither, I went to seek him | Sonn 151.5 For thou betraying me, I doe betray My nobler part | Wint IV. 4.710 She being none of your flesh and blood, your flesh and blood ha's not offended the king | Goldsm V 2.201 Mr. Wilmot now entering, he seemed not a little pleased | Tenn 105 Year after year unto her feet, She lying on her couch alone, ... The maiden's jet-black hair has grown | Thack P 146 Stoopid and Mr. Foker walked home with him; the Major gallantly giving his arm to Miss C. | Bennett LR 145 he walked quickly to a waiting car, Sid following | id B 112 they faced each other, their knees almost touching | Galsw Ca 177 The two still knelt, tears running down their cheeks | Maugham PV 219 They took the hill at a run, a man with a lantern going before each chair | Maxwell EG 347 So it went on, the pressure never relaxing.

6.3₂. *Who* as S is rare and now quite extinct: Harpsfield M 32 Lorde Marney; who making him no aunswere neyther, he seuerally asked the same question | Swift 3.287 another horse came up; who applying himself to the first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each others right hoof | id P 23 ladies under twenty, who, being in honour obliged to blush, it may produce a new subject for discourse.

6.3₃. In some frequent constructions the first participle precedes the S of the nexus-tertiary:

Carlyle H 98 a Poet in word; or failing that, perhaps

still better, a Poet in act (*failing* also Butler W 336 and Lawrence L 143) | Maxwell EG 82 Failing you, I shall take Temple [the servant] (= if you won't come).

The use of *which* is, of course, literary:

Lawrence LG 28 Chapel provided Alvina with a whole outer life, lacking which she would have been poor indeed | Carlyle FR 493 categorical answer ... shall be given. Failing which, King and Ministers step over to the Salle de Manège.

Failing in this position approaches the value of a preposition; this explains the rare use of an oblique case:

Maxwell HR 208 he used to go in search of his daughter, or, failing her, his wife | Shaw D 53 a simple enquiry addressed to the nearest policeman, or, failing him, to any sane person.

6.3₄. A complete transition to being a preposition from this construction has taken place with *during, pending;* cf. F *pendant*, G. *während.*

Hardy F 31 'I have just called to see you,' said Gabriel, pending her further speech | Norris P 42 Pending the installation they lived at a little family hotel.

The complete transition is seen in the possibility of saying: during and after the crisis.

Notwithstanding is used in a corresponding way, either before or after its S, which is now looked upon as its regimen; if followed by a clause it may now be considered a conjunction; see under Clauses, 21.4_6.

He came, notwithstanding his dislike | Sh R2 II. 1.260 His burdenous taxations notwithstanding | Defoe R 284 he was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight | often in Fielding | Sterne 46 | Sheridan 190 you love her, notwithstanding your tempers don't exactly agree | Maugham Alt 1047 notwithstanding they were expecting it they were startled.

6.3₅. An obsolete way of placing *being* as P before a clause, which then is S of the nexus-tertiary, to indicate a reason, is seen in

Sh H4B II. 1.199 you loiter here too long being you are to take souldiers vp | Ado IV. 1.251 Being that I flow in greefe, The smallest twine may lead me.

This corresponds to the modern use of *seeing* or *considering*, which must be analyzed differently (unattached participle with object).

Second Participle.

6.4₁. The use of a second participle as P is still in living use in some set phrases:

[Ch F 297 The service doon they soupen al by day | id T 4.911] | Sh Hml II. 1.96 That done, he lets me goe | Cowper L 2.307 | Di Do 133 that done, he shut down his window (also e. g. Doyle St 26, with *this* Bunyan P 63, Di D 627, Haggard S 18) | Hope Q 78 all said and done, his was the master mind there (also e. g. Maxwell S 31) | Harpsfield M 33 the difficultie of his cause considered, none was there ... | Austen P 467 all things considered, I began to think it reasonable (frequent) | Kipling S 279 we'd only lost ten men, all told (also e. g. Dreiser F 300) | Ertz G 125 she is willing to pay twenty-four pounds a year, all found | Maugham P 10 Frowning, his jaw set, he carried her to the bed and sat her down upon it | Hope Z 29 the man fell back to let me pass, his eyes still fixed on me.

While the meaning of these participles is passive, it is active in:

Thack P 174 Arthur gone, he would only be allowed to make visits like other acquaintance (also e. g. Walpole W 214, Myers M 115; cf. *being gone* below 6.5_1).

6.4₂. The following constructions seem somewhat less natural:

Goldsm 5 all debts collected and paid, out of 14000 pounds we had but 400 remaining | id V 2.22 This scheme thus blown up, I had some thoughts of fairly shipping back | By DJ 2.146 And, the first breakfast spoilt,

[she] prepared a new one | Di D 69 these provisions laid in, we went on | Thack P 3 These perused, the Major took out his pocket-book | Brontë V 424 But, this impulse yielded to, I speedily put her out of the class | Hope Z 180 he suddenly turned to me, his left hand resting in his belt, his right outstretched | Locke St 213 Felicia remained on the balcony deep in thought, her girlish love purified by the brotherly kiss | Maugham P 99 she gazed, her hands clasped to her breast | Rogers Wine of Fury 47 Inside and the door closed, he looked at her as though waiting for her to speak | Kipling K 332 when, patients disposed of, the doctor would smoke | Galsw WM 152 the cup once sipped, would he consent to put it down?

Perfectly unnatural, from the present point of view, are constructions with the second participle like the following:

Ch A 423 The cause yknowe, and of his harm the rote, Anon he yaf the seke man his bote | Redford W 1010 This seene to ... | Sh Tp I. 2.128 a treacherous army leuied | LLL V. 2.206 Vouchsafe ... to shine Those clouds remooued | H5 IV. 1.108 his ceremonies layd by, in his nakednesse he appeares but a man; cf. also H4B IV. 5.77.

In all such cases it would now be necessary to insert *being*, see below 6.5_2.

The construction with a second participle preceded by a relative pronoun is totally obsolete:

Dekker F 569 that store, Which gone, lifes gone | Sh H8 II. 1.42 [Kildare] who remoued, Earl Surrey was sent thither | Goldsm V 2.98 which done, my conductor bade me good night.

Milton's "*Thus said*, he turnd" (PL 3.736) has probably never been natural.

6.4₃. Generally the participle is placed after the S of the nexus; the opposite order (as in Ch Parl 82 for-

geven alle hir wikked dede) is rare except with *given* and *granted,* as in Carlyle H 74 Given your Hero, is he to become Conqueror, King, Philosopher, Poet? | Ru Sel 1.178 given a certain group of colours, by adding another colour at the side of them you will either improve the group or injure it | Butler Er 238 Given earth, air, and a due temperature, the plant must grow | Gissing R 19 granted health, I might hope | Parker R 3 there seemed no flaw in the evidence, once granted its circumstantiality.

It may, however, be doubtful whether these combinations (which may have originated in the way in which mathematical problems are set, cf. Kingsley Y 93 Given the rights of the few rich, to find the condition of the many poor) are really to be considered as nexus-tertiaries or more correctly as independent sentences after the pattern of "happy the victor" (vol. III 17.9, Anal. Synt. 9.6); at any rate we often find *and* + an independent sentence after *given* . . . : Holmes A 12 Given certain factors, and a sound brain should always evolve the same fixed product | Wells T 8 Given so much, and what was not good in F's manner became an added merit. Cf. the use of *and* in vol. III 17.8_5 and below, 6.8_5.

6.44. The same position is frequent when the S is a clause, in which case *granted* and *provided* approach the function of a conjunction.

Benson D 2.243 given that he lived through the danger, it was doubtful if he could ever live an active life again | Walpole ST 75 Granted the weather was fine, nothing could be more delightful | Austen S 56 she did not oppose the parties arranged by her husband, provided everything were conducted in style | Di D 125 Provided I was not in Mr. Murdstone's [society], I was never sought out or inquired after | Ru P 3.138 there is no reason for grumbling, provided always you have entered in at the strait gate.

In the same way *considered* used to stand before a clause (NED examples from 1385 to 1788), where now *considering* is said.

Given may sometimes be taken as the ordinary passive participle in apposition to the subject, the construction being the same as in: "he is given time". This explains the oblique case in the third quotation: McKenna SS 51 Given time, he would win by dogged perseverance | Dickinson S 143 given that [power], you have morals, art, religion | NP 1916 I did not need to read beyond those words: given them, I could reconstruct the story from first principles.

Perfect Participle (Active).

6.5₁. The P of a nexus-tertiary may be a perfect participle:

Fielding 4.17 and we having feed them [porters] the instant they entered the room, they bowed and smiled | Wordsw P 14.206 Imagination having been our theme, So also hath that intellectual Love | Burke Am 27 the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages ..., such struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible || Harpsfield M 214 the first was slaine ... all his felowes being fledd | Lyly E 51 Hir father being gone she sent for hir friend to supper | Sh Gent II 6.40 But Valentine being gone Ile quickely By some slie tricke blunt Thurio's dull proceeding.

Being with the Second Participle (Passive).

6.5₂. This more clumsy construction begins to appear in the 16th century. It is found twice in More's U, where the first ed. has (25): "When the deuyne was done" and (63) "the murder ones done, he is in lesse care", the second ed. has "the seruice beynge done" and "beynge ones done". Harpsfield M 184 has: I haue not gone scot free, my goodes and cattels being confiscate, and my selfe to perpetuall prison adiudged.

There is perhaps only one example in Shakespeare: H4A V. 2.22 And his corruption being tane from vs, we ... shall pay for all.

One of the reasons why the old construction without *being* was abandoned, may have been the ambiguity of many participles: in a sentence like the following one may at first be tempted to take *completed*, etc., as past tenses (finite) instead of participles: Macaulay E 4.235 The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour.—If a sentence begins: "The watch found on his body" one would naturally expect a continuation in which this was the subject, but "The watch being (or having been) found on his body" is unambiguous as a tertiary and naturally makes one expect a continuation like "it was concluded that ...".

This paraphrase, however, is only found in a strictly temporal sense; it would be impossible in cases like the following, in which the participle has more of a descriptive character: Sh Cor I. 3.15 ... return'd, his browes bound with oake | Ward M 349 Mary sat still beside the writing-table, her hands crossed on her lap, her eyes absently bent upon them.

6.5₃. Other examples of *being* with second participle:

Marlowe J 2291 a dainty gallery, The floore whereof, this cable being cut, Doth fall asunder | Bacon A 28 Dinner being done, the Tirsan retireth againe [but ib 29 twice without *being*] | Goldsm V 1.36 This duty being performed, my son and I went to pursue our usual industry | Franklin 140 Peace being concluded, and the association business therefore at an end, I turn'd my thoughts again to the affair | Di P 373 This being done, a gentleman in black ... proceeded to call over the names of the jury (also ib 443) | Stevenson K 291 he fell into a still deeper muse, even the claret being now forgotten | Maugham PV 105 And when, the table being

set and dinner brought in, he put aside his book ... she was startled ....

Having been with the Second Participle.

6.6. In many of the examples just given people would now prefer the fuller, though clumsier, indication of the time relation by means of *having been*, as in:

Scott Iv 147 This proclamation having been made, the heralds withdrew to their stations | Di P 430 These preliminaries adjusted, the punch was tasted, and pronounced excellent, and it having been arranged that Bob Sawyer and Ben Allen should be considered at liberty ... they started fair | Freeman Th 162 The slide was then removed and, another having been substituted, the nozzle was applied to the right sleeve | ib 184 These arrangements having been settled, the two men adjourned ... for tea.

On the use of the *to*-infinitive as P in a simple nexus: "He proposed a picnic, he himself to pay the railway tickets, and John to provide the food" see under Infinitive, 19.5.

Adjective.

6.71. The P may be an adjective; obsolete uses are seen in:

Marlowe F 11 Now is he borne, his parents *base* of stocke | Sh As III. 1.4 I should not seeke an absent argument Of my revenge, thou *present* (with *absent* Cæs IV. 3.156, R2 I. 3.219) | (In imitation of this in a recent poem: Phillips P 37 if this thing happened by some chance, I in the house, you absent) | Mi PL 9.829 And Adam ... shall live ... *I extinct* | Sh Sonn 146.14 And death once *dead*, ther's no more dying then | Hope Z 227 they dead, two men only would remain.

It would now be more usual to add *being:*

Brontë V 37 My mistress being dead, and I once more alone, I had to look out for a new place | Wells

PF 11 [fathers] will prepare intimate records of their thought ... so that, they being dead, their children may rediscover them.

To indicate time, it is now hardly possible to say as in Brontë J 254 Tea *ready*, I was going to approach the table.

6.7₂. But on the other hand such combinations are frequent in descriptive additions to denote attendant circumstances.

Thack P 202 saying her prayers at home ..., her heart full of love and tenderness unutterable for the boy | Kipl S 250 The eight seniors, their faces very set and sober, were ranged in chairs | Wells Fm 44 I lay, eyes wide open | Maugham Alt 277 while she, her eyes hard and cold, stepped past him and went out | Walpole DW 236 The train moved off and she sat there, her eyes bright and shining, her little body stiff and resolute | (Hope D 80 we won't tell, honour bright!).

Cp. also (with a substantive as P) Ward M 14 he looked up at her, his handsome face all affection and life.

Adverb or Prepositional Group.

6.7₃. The P may be an adverb or a prepositional group. The following Shakespearean sentences would not be possible nowadays:

Sonn 97.12 And thou away, the very birds are mute (also ib 98,13, R2 I. 1.178) | R3 I. 2.233 To take her ... The bleeding witnesse of her hatred by [= standing by] | ib III. 7.10 his owne bastardie, As being got, your father then in France.

Nowadays the chief adverb used in such constructions is *over:*

Thack P 144 These preliminaries over, the three began to talk | Maugham TL 159 When, their long journey over, they were settled in the little Scots town | Galsw

Ca 169 The visit over, they would set forth home.

Combination with ... *apart;* the more colloquial expression is *apart from ...:*

Collins W 618 in anticipation of their following my directions, which, accident apart, I knew they would do | Di P 391 surely you don't really mean—really and seriously now, and irritation apart—that you won't pay these costs and damages | Huxley L 1.274 Jesting apart, I heartily wish your plans success.

6.74. Examples of a prepositional group as P (more or less literary):

Sh Merch III. 2.96 To be the dowrie of a second head, The scull that bred them in the sepulcher | Wordsw 76 One morn we strolled on our dry walk, Our quiet home all full in view | Carlyle FR 161 see Cam. Desmoulins rushing out; his hair streaming, in each hand a pistol! | Thack P 294 she came in ... a basket of roses in her hand | Stevenson T 214 I waited, every nerve upon the stretch | Priestley A 116 The kiss at end, they each drew a deep breath | Bennett B 142 he went first, the Prince close behind him | Strong B 187 He was lying on his face, his right shoulder under the edge of the rock, his right arm full length extended | Lawrence L 106 She stood silent, her head slightly on one side | Maugham P 14 and lazily, her heart at ease with satisfied love, she lingered.

Here we may place also (with *as* as a preposition):

Walpole Cp 29 she had stood, her face as a rock, her heart beating but her body without movement.

6.75. Pretty frequently we find words formed from *a* (originally *on*) + a verbal stem as P in these constructions:

Locke HB 12 she [walked] by his side, all her heart and soul a-flutter.

But these will be dealt with elsewhere in connexion with the general theory of such words

Condensed Constructions.

6.7ε. This name (cf. vol. II 4.36) is given to short descriptive nexus-tertiaries like *hat in hand* = 'with his hat in his hand', or 'with their hats in their hands'.

First examples of the extremely frequent use with an adverb as P:

Sterne M 1.264 by my child's coming head foremost into the world | Plunge into the water head foremost (e. g. Stevenson T 278; cf. ib 217 head first) | Bennett Cd 273 travel legs-foremost instead of head-foremost | Bennett C 1.45 he was laid face down on the table | Kipl J 2.24 he found the ape hanging, head down, from a bough | Shaw A 162 I saw we were going to win hands down [frequent = 'without exertion'] | Locke HB 260 She put the book ... pages downward on her knee | Di Do 217 the boat was lying bottom upwards | Stevenson T 103 The Hispaniola was rolling scuppers under in the ocean swell | Kipl J 2.260 he stalked down the hill-side, chin up and eyebrows low | Galsw T 211 cattle ... the pale sickles of their horns, like so many thin moons, fallen ends-up.

Note the frequency of compounds with *side:*

Sh Ado III. 1.68 So turns she euery man the wrong side out | Swift J 4 everything is turning upside down | Quincey 324 She turned it wrong side out | Ru Sel 1.321 the wind ... turning leaves the wrong side out | Kipl J 2.177 like a pudding-bowl wrong side up | NP 1912 it swims upside down as readily as right side up | Shaw D 297 to set right-side-up the perverted conscience | Huxley L 1.4 turning my pinafore wrong side forwards | Turn the pocket inside out (e. g. Di F 24).

Next, constructions in which the P is a prepositional phrase:

Di D 488 he came into the breakfast parlour, whip in hand | id F 888 Between the two sat Riderhood, pipe in mouth (also Tenn L 2.24) | Gissing B 175 Teacup in

hand, he seated himself by her | Bennett C 2.25 She thanked him, relief in her voice | Hewlett Q 71 she sat in a low chair, tapestry on her knees | Galsw WM 214 Desert was sitting back to the engine in the near corner of an empty first | Hope Q 297 strolling off, cigar in mouth and hands in pockets | Bennett B 215 As they came up, hand over fist, the dinghy's nose swerved aside (also Aldington D 35) | They met face to face || Campbell Shl 84 Hogg says that for two-thirds of the twenty-four hours he [Shelley] was book in hand.

Head over heels is said to be a corruption of "heels over head".

Of the three constructions

(a) He stood, hat in hand,

(b) He stood, his hat in his hand, and

(c) He stood with his hat in his hand,

there can be no doubt that (b) is the rarest, while (c) is the ordinary colloquial expression and (a) is very often preferred in literature.

6.7₇. Sometimes writers use complicated constructions in which several of the classes here separated are combined:

Brontë V 11 His meal over, and numerous questions from his mother answered, he turned from the table to the hearth | Rose Macaulay T 267 That settled, and his children well off his hands, Maurice felt that his only link with family life was snapped | Walpole C 155 he strutted, his head up, his brow stern, his hands crossed behind his back | Lawrence L 98 as he sat there on the sofa, his hands clasping his knees, his face under the lamp bright and alert.

Meaning of Such Nexus-Tertiaries.

6.8. It may be asked, what are these nexus-tertiaries used for, what do they denote, and what is the pur-

they serve the same purposes as all other tertiaries (adverbs, single substantives, prepositional phrases, clauses) and that, just as with other tertiaries, it is often difficult or even impossible to draw sharp boundaries between the several applications. What meaning to ascribe to one particular nexus-tertiary very often depends on the particular meaning of the words combined in it rather than on its grammatical form. Still we may broadly distinguish the following classes and in some instances give rules for their distinction.

(1) Cause or reason, (2) condition, (3) time, (4) descriptive circumstances.

6.8₁. Cause or reason, generally corresponding to a clause with *as*. This is particularly frequent with *being*, but may also be found with other first participles:

Sh Err I. 2.61 We being strangers here, how dar's thou trust So great a charge from thine owne custodie | Sheridan 357 and it being dusk, I think nobody has perceived me | AHuxley Jest. Pil. 253 The wise men of antiquity ... were afraid that—men being what they are—their discoveries might be put to bad or futile uses | Bennett B 15 he was unknown to London, this being his first visit to Europe for over twenty years | there being no taxis we had to walk || Massinger N V. 1.95 he look'd for Your lordship ... but missing you, and she not yet appearing, his wise-head Is much perplex'd.

6.8₂. Condition. Such tertiaries are often placed before the bulk of the sentence. Here we may place *God willing* (e. g. Sh Hml I. 5.187) and frequent combinations with *failing:*

Burke Am 18 conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left | Mac H 1.33 his subjects promptly appealed to the laws, and, that appeal failing, appealed as promptly to the God of battles.

Further *other things being equal.*

6.8₃. Time, generally placed before the bulk of the sentence. Here we find most of the combinations with adjectives and simple adverbs, as well as those with perfect participles. *Dinner over* is temporal, *dinner being over* (or *finished*) as a rule causal.

Maxwell EG 325 And the meal being over, he took Mr. Kaye into the other room.

The temporal signification of a nexus-tertiary may be strengthened by the addition of *once*, as in Sh Sonn 146.14 quoted above 6.7₁, and Stevenson M 133 Once the girl within, and the door closed, the same dexterity will relieve you of this last danger.

Here belongs *ago*, which is originally a participle of the obsolete verb *ago*, the old form being *agone*. In *two years ago*, *long ago*, some grammarians may be inclined to consider *ago* as a preposition placed after its regimen.

Gone in that position is now rare:

Caxton R 6 [he] compleyneth of that is passyd many yeres goon | Carlyle F 3.94 I finished on Friday gone a week | id FR 433 On the Sixth of October gone a year, King Louis ... made a Royal Progress (cf. Caxton R 74 Now two yere passid cam a man = past).

Cf. also *turned*: GE SM 247 she's to be married, turned Michaelmas.

6.8₄. Descriptive details and attendant circumstances, generally added after the main part of the sentence and sometimes very loosely connected with it. Here belong most of those cases in which the P is an adverb or a prepositional phrase, and all cases of condensed constructions (above 6.7₆). It would often be difficult to say what conjunction would be used if nexus-tertiaries were to be expanded into clauses:

Harpsfield M 198 he had brought him from Westminster ... the teares running downe by his cheekes | Sh Hml II. 2.253 [a prison] in which there are many confines, wards, and dungeons; Denmarke being one

o'th' worst | He remained in town, his idea being that he wanted everything settled before his departure | Wells Sc L 47 About 59 per cent. by weight of the human body is water, the proportion varying from tissue to tissue | She went on knitting, tears trickling upon her hand.

The common expression ... *the result being that* ... may be paraphrased: *and the result has* (*consequently*) *been that* ... Sometimes the idea is rather adversative and might almost be expressed by means of *though:*

Shelley 715 And canst thou move, Napoleon being dead? | Walpole Cp 102 What led him to the Chapel doors, he being in no way a religious man?

Combinations with *and.*

6.8₅. This leads us to the popular idiomatic constructions added loosely by means of *and* implying a contrast with what precedes and generally indicating surprise. A great many examples have already been printed vol. III 17.8₅. A few additional ones may be given here:

Caxton R 25 he ... was goon his way, And the hows not pourueyed ne vitaylled | Swift J 202 And how can I come away and the First-Fruits not finished? | Austen M 382 my greatest danger would lie in her consulting Mrs Fraser, and I at a distance, unable to help my own cause | Wordsw 188 And have I then thy bones so near, And thou forbidden to appear? | Di N 604 the tears they often saw upon his face, half wondering to see them too and he so pleased and happy | Shaw 1.182 How could I tell what had become of you—and night coming on too | Maugham C 296 I couldn't let him go all that way by himself, with no money perhaps, and him having been always so grand and living in his own house and driving his own trap || Fielding T 3.151 I might have kept every farthing, and nobody any the wiser | Stevenson K 212 there might have been twenty squadron of dragoons there and we none the wiser.

Constructions of this kind may be added after a *with*-construction:

Di F 388 I, with poor father's grave not even cleared of undeserved stain and shame, and he trying to clear it for me | Tarkington Women 34 [suppose they] saw him go off driving with her, with her hand on his shoulder and he showing that he liked it there and was used to having it there | Shaw M 168 I dont know what I shall do when you are gone, with no one but Ann in the house, and she always occupied with the men!

Incomplete Nexus.

6.9. A nexus-tertiary without S is pretty often found with *being* to indicate a reason or explanatory circumstance. The ordinary speech-instinct will here take *it* (S) as understood, rather than consider *holiday*, etc., as a postposed S.

Sh Ro V. 1.56 Being holy day, the beggers shop is shut | ib V. 3.249 Being the time the potions force should cease | Kemp Nine DW 12 there were many there, being size time | Swift J 160 I dined to-day at Mrs. Vanhomrighs, being a rainy day | Di P 302 he thought you'd rather walk, being a cold day | Caine C 170 late as it was, being New Year's Eve, there were groups about every corner | Sweet E 78 for being market-day at the nearest town, they were overlooked by plenty of farmers. The formula for this is $3(S^0\ P(Y\ P_2)\ 3)$, etc.

Cf. in vulgar speech Di D 684 If it had been my ears, what should I have done? Being my limbs, what does it signify? On infinitives in nexus-tertiaries see 11.1_5 and 19.5.

Chapter VII.

Nexus-Substantives.

A dependent nexus is often expressed by means of nexus-substantives (PhilGr 136 ff., 169 ff.). These are of two kinds, verbal and predicative.

7.1₁. As regards the formal relation between verbal nexus-substantives and the corresponding verb we have the following classes:

1. No derivative ending.
   1.1. Substantive = verb: *love, work.*
   1.2. Substantive differs from verb in vowel: *sale.*
   1.3. Substantive differs from verb in consonant: *belief, use.*
   1.4. Substantive differs from verb in vowel and consonant: *breach, loss.*
2. Substantive formed with a derivative ending. In many cases the kernel, too, undergoes some change, e. g. *admire: admiration.*

The following endings are used:

-age: *marriage.*
-al: *arrival.*
-ance, -ence: *performance, correspondence.*
-ion, -tion, -ation, -sion, -son: *discussion, description, admiration, declension, comparison.*
-lock: *wedlock.*
-ment: *development.*
-t: *deceit, thought.*
-ure, -iture: *exposure, expenditure.*
-y: *discovery.*

In some cases we have two derivatives with different meanings: *deliverance* from *deliver* 'free', and *delivery* from *deliver* 'distribute'; cf. *move, motion, movement.*

7.1₂. Predicative nexus-words are formed from adjectives (nouns) by means of the following endings; in some cases the kernel is changed:

-ce, -cy: *prudence, justice, agency.*
-dom: *wisdom.*
-hood: *manhood.*
-ion, -tion, -sion: *union, devotion, persuasion, connexion.*
-ism: *heroism.*
-ness: *kindness.*
-ship: *friendship.*

-ry: *bravery.*
-t: *height.*
-th: *width, truth.*
-(t)ude: *solitude, quietude.*
-y, -ty, -ity: *honesty, poverty, humility.*

Each of these manners of formation will be separately treated in vol. VI, Morphology. There also we shall deal with such combinations as *give a guess, a push, heave a sigh, have a bath, a look, a care, take care, a drive, a walk,* etc.

7.13. With regard to syntax, which is our concern in this volume, we have first to consider the way in which what in a full verbal sentence would be the two primaries connected with the verb, its subject (S) and object (O) are treated in connexion with the nexus-substantive (X). We see then that both S and O may be combined with X in two chief ways, as a genitive (possessive pronoun) and by means of the preposition *of*. This may occasionally lead to ambiguity, just as Latin *dei* in *amor dei* may mean either S or O. An example of this ambiguity is given by Hodgson, Errors in the Use of English 91: An attorney, not celebrated for his probity, was robbed one night on his way from Wicklow to Dublin. His father, meeting Baron O'Grady the next day, said: "My lord, have you heard of my son's robbery?" "No, indeed," replied the Baron, "pray whom did he rob?"

In this sentence the genitive *son's* may be taken either as S^2 or as O^2 before *robbery* X. Or, as the O of an active verb is made into the S of a passive verb, we may also say that *robbery* in one case has an active and in the other a passive sense; the formulas would thus be respectively:

$S^2\ X^a$ (the son robbed).
$O^2\ X^a = S^2\ X^p$ (the son was robbed).

No ambiguity can arise in nexus-substantives corresponding to intransitive verbs: *the doctor's arrival* S^2 X

the arrival of the doctor X pS. Similarly with *existenc life, death*, etc. The same applies to all predicative nexu substantives: *Mary's kindness, height*, etc.

Ambiguity is only to be feared when the nexus-sul stantive corresponds to a transitive verb, and even the it is comparatively rare, and the tendency has been (late centuries to get rid of ambiguity by the gradu disuse of the genitive (possessive) = O except in a fe well-defined cases, as well as by the use of less ambiguou prepositions than *of* (*by* S, *for, to* O).

7.14. The use of *by* with S is particularly interestin I regret that I am unable to determine how old it i (end of the 18th c.?). NED does not mention this use though incidentally its Supplement (sub *by*) gives a example from 1779 (the representation of moonlight b Homer); my own numerous quotations date from th 19th c. *By* is chiefly used with expressions of (physical acts, not so much with expressions of feelings.

The close connexion between this construction an the converted S of a passive verb is seen in Gretto H 1.161 a speech made by the new Viceroy ... and speech by a viceroy was so unusual.

Both S and O.

7.21. Let us first take instances in which both S an O are expressed.

S^2 = genitive (possessive pronoun), O with *of:* the word-order is the usual one of an ordinary sentence, thus S^2 X of O:

Bacon A 2.3 our rare admission of strangers | Sh H4B IV. 5.194 to vpbraide my gain of it [= my gaining (of) it] | Tp IV. 1.5 All thy vexations Were but my trials of thy loue | Defoe P 87 discomposed at their treatment of me | Johnson R 122 our pursuit of happi-ness | Austen M 16 she was often mortified by their

treatment of her | ib 41 the Miss Bertrans' admiration of Mr Crawford | ib 301 her reception of him was of a sort which he could not have hoped for | Scott A 2.207 his detestation of its principles | Poe 250 this ascendancy would depend upon the robber's knowledge of the loser's knowledge of the robber | Thack N 722 Ethel's refusal of Lord Farintosh | Hope Q 180 he had overcome her dislike of him | Ward E 88 his instinctive avoidance of her | Hardy R 179 I put up with your courtship of another | Galsw FS 489 dwelt with pride and pleasure on his ownership thereof [house].

7.2₂. Note *character* = 'characterization': Swinburne L 23 her character of Frank was mainly unfair | Peacock M 164 even if your character of them were true to the letter.

And *life* = 'biography': Quincey 278 in his dog-Latin life of himself.

With the quotation Thack P 773 his praises of Blanche pleased and surprised our friend not a little—should be compared the instances of *praise* below 7.4_3.

7.2₃. S and O with different prepositions:

NP 1929 her [Lady Byron's] dealings with Byron in the long period of her courtship by and of him—*her* in two senses.

7.2₄. S^2 = gen. (poss.), O with preposition other than *of:*

Sh Cæs III. 2.20 Brutus [genitive] love to Cæsar | Hml I. 3.100 his affection to me | Congreve 295 your love to my daughter | Fielding 5.582 her duty and love to her father, her hatred to Blifil . . . her love for Jones | Austen M 142 his preference for Maria | Meredith H 88 his dislike to that officer | Tennyson 320 thine obedience and thy love to me | Brontë V 377 his resemblance to my confessor | Froude Rel. w. Carl. 12 my reverence and admiration for Carlyle's intellect (but ib. 26 my admiration of Carlyle) | Merriman S 43 the girl's dislike for him | Maugham Alt 143 his hatred for that

horrible old man | id MS 190 the power we have over people by their regard for our opinion of them.

7.2$_5$. Different prepositions:

Russell, Pr. of Idleness 198 [the American] his admiration for muscle is more profound and genuine than his admiration of brains | NJacob G 260 He had remembered his hatred of his own father . . . Eve's hatred for him | Masefield M 33 his devotion to John, his passion for Ottalie, and his love of all high and noble art | Galsw Frat 144 his ingrained mistrust of and aversion from Bianca | Bates Poacher 95 lost in admiration of his smooth unvarying pace . . . his admiration at that stride turned to fear | his opposition to her marriage.

7.3$_1$. S with *of*, O with *of;* this is very rare indeed:

Bacon (L 1.146) the overthrow of the states one of another [= 'the states' overthrowing one another'] | NP 1911 the Institute arose by the gift of a resident of Milwaukee of a sum sufficient to defray expenses.

7.3$_2$. S with *of;* O with some other preposition:

Shelley 720 the desire of the moth for the star | Trelawny R 75 Such is the hatred of the Nubians to their rulers | Stevenson JHF 146 The hatred of Hyde for Jekyll | Egerton K 81 the race dislike of white men to black | Chesterton B 85 the love of Browning for Italian art . . . was the love of a living thing | McCarthy 2.447 there would have been no hatred of Protestant to Catholic | Wells TM 97 the fear of the little upperworld people for the dark | Westermarck M 368 the bitter contempt of the Aryans for foreign tribes | NP 1934 Contempt of the young for the old is natural and salutary.

The control of mind over matter X pS pO = the control of matter by mind X pO pS.

7.3$_3$. S with *by*, O gen. (poss.):

Byron L 172 [memoirs] at the time of their perusal by me O^2X pS | Browning 1.431 Through the first republic's murder there By Cosimo | Thack E 2.288 his

expulsion from power by the Tories | Kipling L 122 his tattooment by skilled operators | Shaw M 15 Nothing can be more decorous than her entry and her reception by Ramsden | Bennett B 219 since his sudden dismissal by Theodore Racksole | Kaye Smith T 185 her smashing defeat by Marlingate | NP 1929 Haiti as it was in the days of its ownership by France | NP 1932 Mrs. Wright's account of her courtship by Joseph Wright ... makes it delightful to read. Cf. also Russell FO 474 our defeat at the hands of the Boers O^2X ppS.

7.34. S with *by*, O with *of*. The usual word-order is X pS pO:

Di N 549 the accidental discovery by Miss Knag of some correspondence | Ru F 110 national debts paying interest are simply the purchase, by the rich, of power to tax the poor | id S 1.423 the apelike adoption, by one nation, of the habits of another | Shaw Ibsen 145 The success of such plays depends upon the exercise by the audience of powers of memory and imagination | Alden U 122 the offer by Mr Fels of a farm of 1,300 acres has been accepted | Trollope A 86 The first evil was the possession by the Church of certain funds | Allen A 144 The suppression by the pope of the order to which he belonged | NP 1923 the payment by Germany of an annual sum to France | NP 1934 it will be punishment by the guilty of the innocent.

Note NP 1926 Among the chief results of the war has been the mutual discovery by one another of America and Europe [= of one another by A. and E.].

The opposite order of the two prepositional groups:

Mill L 12 the self-government spoken of, is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest | Macaulay H 1.12 The subjugation of a nation by a nation has seldom been more complete | Lecky D 1.475 Every government of one nationality by another is of the nature of slavery | Lang T 54 the laughable pursuit

of the Prince by the feminine Proctors | Skeat Ch. vol. V. 58 with reference to the treatment of the poor by usurers | NP 1901 the massacre of Christians by Chinese | Maugham Pl 3.7 on the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks.

7.35. S with *by*, O with some preposition other than *of*:

Galsw SS 176 a complete answer to any claim by the young women and her set to having 'morals about them' | Lindsay CA 164 a monstrous arrogance that could not tolerate any approach to her by others.

One Primary.

7.4. Next, we consider those cases in which there is only one primary. If this is put in the genitive or connected with the preposition *of*, there is always, theoretically at any rate, a possibility of a doubt whether it is to be taken as S or O. Very often, however, the combination is, in practice, unambiguous.

7.41. S genitive X.

When the genitive (possessive) denotes a person, or several persons, there is always a presumption in favour of its being taken as S:

His suggestion, decision, supposition, attack, discovery, admiration, love, respect, approbation, interruption | Carpenter P 59 the stigma of society's disapproval | England's conquests | with his help.

7.42. Object genitive.

Where the meaning of a verb is such that it has more often a thing than a person as its subject, the genitive (possessive) is taken as O:

His astonishment, surprise, amazement, amusement, irritation, etc.

The genitive or possessive will also be understood as O if more interest is naturally taken in the person who is the object of an action than in the agent in the case.

Thus in an English newspaper of 1923 I found, at a few lines' distance, *De Valera's capture* and *De Valera's arrest* mentioned as possibilities: it was of no importance who was to capture the Irish leader. Other examples:

A man's trial (the fact that he is brought before a judge) | his release | our defeat | Marlowe T 2883 our ouerthrow | Sh Ado I. 3.69 that young start-vp hath all the glorie of my ouerthrow [= 'my being overthrown'] | Greene J4 394 let him know The order of his daughters ouerthrow | Wordsw P 9.416 For the Sicilian Tyrant's overthrow || Keats 4.129 the two Irishmen were speaking of their treatment in England [= 'the way they were treated'] | Gissing B 235 that democratic movement which desired the Church's abolition | Collins W 174 in the happy hurry of a bridegroom, to prepare for the bride's reception at his house (also Hardy R 377, Hope Z 26) | Mackenzie C 409 Already he was talking about the child's education | Shaw StJ 8 I am ... responsible for her protection | ib 84 We have striven for your salvation.

7.4a. Gen. (poss.) either S or O.

A certain number of words are found used with the genitive which in some cases denotes the S, in others the O. As the latter is an exception to the general rule stated above, I give more quotations for it than for S.

loss: Sh R3 I. 3.202 thy childrens loss | Thack H 114 weeping over her child ... grief for its loss | Hope R 139 his hat ... a natural protection against its loss | Shelley 825 The battle's loss may profit those who lose | Brontë V 34 if few women have suffered as I did in his loss, few have enjoyed what I did in his love | (also Mary Shelley F 48, Rose Macaulay O 314, Walpole Cp 9, etc.) | NP 1924 Professor Mac Dougall (whose loss to England is America's gain).

harm: my harm = 'injury done by me' (S) or 'to me' (O), see Sh-lex.

service: my service = 'service done by me' (S) or 'due to me' (O), see ib; thus always: his (S) service was required | a man in his (O) service.

obedience, see Sh-lex, twice = 'obsequiousness observed by' and twice = 'obsequiousness paid to'; cf. Lr I. 2.135 of O.

wrong: England's wrongs generally means 'the wrongs done to England', thus Di Do 333 this might have led to a renewal of his wrongs | Gissing H 288 the story of his wrongs | Marlowe F 1365 euery seruile groome ieasts at my wrongs | ib 1416 | Sh R2 II. 3.141 my cosens wrongs. But in the same play III. 1.15 we find "your foule wrongs" = 'the wrongs committed by you'; thus also Mids II. 1.240 Your wrongs do set a scandal on my sex, and Austen M 249 in spite of his wrongs towards her. (Cf. also Zangwill G 207 If Jessie had wrongs [= 'suffered wrongs'] why should she not have avenged them herself?).

awe: Sh R2 I. 9.118 my scepters awe (O) | H5 I. 2.224 wee'l bend it to our awe (O), but Hml IV. 3.63 thy free awe Payes homage to vs (S).

memory is used in two ways in Hml, thus I. 5.85 'Tis in my memory locked—this is the common usage (S)—and III. 2.140 a great mans memory may outliue his life half a year—this is the rarer (O). A modern example is Kaye Smith GA 298 His memory would not be the continuous burden that his living presence was.

praise: Sh As II. 3.22 [He] hath heard your praises | ib II. 4.38 Wearing thy hearer in thy mistris praise | Sheridan 254 you don't join us in your friend Joseph's praise | Austen S 117 [he was] so full of your praises | ib 141 Edward had always spoken highly in her praise | Walpole C 431 His praises now were in every one's mouth (very common), cf. Thack P 17 regardless of all the comments that were made in her praise or disfavour.

7.44. Gen. (S) and gen. (O) in close connexion:

Sh H4A V. 2.57 He ... Trimm'd vp your praises with a princely tongue, Spoke your deseruings like a chronicle, Making you euer better then his praise | Collins W 307 on the possibility of taking legal proceedings for Laura's protection, in the event of her husband's refusal to allow her to leave Blackwater | Kaye Smith T 93 these strange tears were not shed for his defeat, but for his victory | NP 1957 Falstaff's (O) dismissal was due to a split between Shakespeare and Southampton ... Prince Hal's (S) dismissal of Falstaff (O) | Shaw St.J 9 It is the more impressive reversal by a unanimous Posterity, culminating in her (O) canonization, that has quashed the original proceedings, and put her judges on their (O) trial, which, so far, has been much more unfair than their (S) trial of her (O).

7.51. The objective use of the possessive is pretty frequent after *in order to:*

Defoe R 294 in order to their deliverance | Fielding 3.602 in order to his humiliation | Scott A 2.122 to convey the old man to a magistrate, in order to his examination and committal | McCarthy 2.463 the legislation which will be necessary in order to their final adjustment | Ru F 34 in order to its discovery, the obedience must be begun first. Cf. 16.4$_4$.

(Another construction is seen in Carpenter C 26 a necessary stage in order for the development of the consciousness of love.)

7.52. Where possessives refer to things, they will be understood as O:

Sh Sonn 152.5 But why of two othes breach doe I accuse thee | Err II. 2.17 thou didst denie the golds receit | Mcb I. 1.98 in his kingdomes great defence | By 390 what was thy pity's recompense? | Brontë W 130 his letter ... I could not guess how its receipt would affect Catherine | Di P 133 leaves ... during the whole time of their perusal | Lytton K 351 sealing his

notes ... gave order for their delivery | Beaconsfield L 466 she walked towards a case of works of art and appeared to be engrossed in their examination | Browning 1.392 If she wished not the rash deed's recalment | Poe 176 an analytic ability ... take an eager delight in its exercise | Gissing R 7 If the plant be rare, its discovery gives me joy | ib 223 my books ... tasting the happiness of their tranquil possession | Galsw SS 235 Soames, who had the same hope, was somewhat shocked by its expression | ib 263 [literature] You wouldn't sympathise with its suppression | Mackenzie C 357 she would have urged strongly its acceptance [it = this offer] | Myers M 103 to gain or lose by the will's destruction.

7.5a. In some common prepositional phrases a genitive denotes O: come to one's assistance, rescue || Marlowe E 1340 comst thou in Edwards aide? | Dreiser AT 1.145 he went to their aid (U. S.), similarly ib 2.335 and id F 63 || Goldsm V 1.30 plunged in to her relief || McCarthy 2.301 Mr. Bright came to Mr. Stansfield's defence | Johnson R 46 he started up in the maid's defence | Walpole Cp 287 This put Maggie up in arms in his defence at once || Brontë V 120 unconscious of what might be going forward in her honour | A dinner given in his honour (in honour of the Committee) || Gissing H 142 Very foolish of you to have allowed him to get into your debt [= 'into debt to you'] | we are in his debt [= 'in debt to him'], but: a man must pay his debts.

In my despite (Sh Tit 1.361, Cy IV. 1.16; ib I. 6.135, H6A IV. 7.22), Sh Ven 731 in high heavens despite | Wordsw P 10.545 in my own despite, cf. ib 10.214 in despite Of what the People long had been; thus common, also Sh.—Always *in spite of*—.

Of his creation as in NP 1926 He had to face extraordinary difficulties which were not of his creation—

should be compared with *of his making* (see under Gerund 8.5_2).

7.5₄. Here I give a miscellaneous collection of examples of genitives (possessives) to denote O:

Ælfric 1.26 he [deofol] tihte þæra Iudeiscra manna heortan to Cristes slege [= 'to the slaying of Christ'] | Sh John III. 1.106 our oppression [= 'the oppression of us'] | Hml I. 5.24 Reuenge his foule and most vnnaturall murther | H6A I. 2.108 I burn with thy desire [= 'desire for thee'] | Cymb III. 4.190 Least ... I be suspected of your carriage [= 'of carrying you'] from the court | Hml IV. 5.80 and he most violent author Of his owne iust remoue [= 'his being removed'] | Tro IV. 3.2 the hour prefixt Of her deliuerie to this valiant Greeke | Wiv II. 2.259 a thousand other her defences | Sheridan 333 [a surgeon] should get the more credit by his cure [= 'by curing him'] | Goldsm V 1.30 attempting her rescue | Hope Z 163 His rescue was one of the objects of the expedition | Austen M 20 relieved from the expense of her support | Brontë V 427 a lesson's remission | Kipling K 295 my description [= 'a description of me'] is in his hand | Galsw FS 265 He sat ruminating over his rebuff | Maxwell Ch Night 280 Your wishes are always my commands [= 'commands given to me'] | Mackenzie C 359 Jenny read the full history of her proposed adoption [= 'of the proposal to adopt her'] | Locke HB 200 King Constantine, whose sufferance for so long on the Greek throne is still a mystery to the plain Briton.

Idea may be considered a kind of nexus-substantive; *his idea* is generally S^2X, but may occasionally be O^2X (= 'the thought of'):

Burns 1.122 Her dear idea brings relief And solace to my heart | Di D 440 loving Dora. Her idea was my refuge in disappointment and distress.

Generally with *of:* the idea of good, etc. | the idea of it!

7.61. *Of* may be used with either S or O: the survival of the fittest | the s. of death (e. g. Dickinson, Immortality 51) | What is the use of teachers? | A manual for the use of teachers.

Charge is used with both S and O: to leave children in charge of a nurse or a nurse in charge of the children. "The latter is the more recent use" (NED) | He placed the teacher in charge of the class | he placed the class under the charge of the teacher | Butler Er 113 the two jailors in charge of him | NJacob G 92 He left his son in charge of the capable nurse who had looked after him for the past two years.—With a genitive: Brontë V 9 he would leave her [a child] in a servant's charge | put the sum down to my charge.

In (within) sight of may be used = 'capable of seeing', or 'capable of being seen by'.

7.62. X *of* O.

With *of* the presumption is in favour of O; this goes back to very early times:

AR 106 uor þe luue of him | Malory 138 not for the loue of hym but for the loue of Accolon.

Modern examples:

Sh H4A I. 1.84 by looking on the praise of him | Ado I. 1.237 Thou wast euer an obstinate heretique in the despight of Beautie [= 'in despising beauty'] | H4A III. 3.12 villanous company hath beene the spoyle of me | Spect 106 Sir Roger was proceeding in the character of him [= 'characterizing him'] | ib at sight of the good old knight | Austen P 1 a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife | Di D 44 she was disabled by the wrongs of her sex from wearing whiskers | Swinburne L 28 always deep in love of his wife and admiration of her mother | Merriman S 216 she seemed to be alternating between hatred of this man and love of him | McCarthy 2.610 the surrender to Russia of the Bessarabian territory | Haggard She 8 women hated the sight of me (also Galsw FS 535) |

Thack P 2.315 it'll be the ruin of me (also Ward M 107) | Stevenson JHF 52 Shocking murder of an M. P. | Shaw 1.63 I insist upon the withdrawal of that expression | she stood in awe of her mother | Kitty stood in no fear of her.

Of before a clause Beresford G 131 he was planning the recountal to Evelyn of how he had entered upon his new life.

In the following cases, *in* would nowadays be preferred to *of:* Swift 3.62 the disbelief of a divine providence | Cowper L 1.228 establishing the belief of a purgatory.

The O of a nexus-substantive may be an infinitival nexus: Walton A 140 I have had from some chimical man an affirmation of them to be very advantageous X pO(SI). Cf. 18.8_1.

7.6₃. X *of* S.

But *of* may also stand before a subject, thus of course in those cases in which a genitive is avoided: he did not deserve the love of his parents | he incurred the displeasure of his chief | the cures of some doctors are marvellous | the approval of whoever knew him.

Note the difference between
an impartial estimate of Tennyson (O) and
an impartial estimate of Tennyson's (S), and between
he was overcome by admiration of his friend (O) and
he was overcome by the admiration of his friend (S).

7.6₄. X *by* S.

S with *by*, chiefly, but not exclusively with transitive verbs; in most cases the S is a personal agent:

Cowper L 2.381 I have seen a translation by Hobbes ... because the translation of Hobbes has at least this recommendation | Mackenzie S 1.145 there were cheers for the victors by the vanquished | Ellis Early EPron. 1.224 the pronunciation actually in use by [= 'used by'] the actors | McCarthy 2.332 that immemorial object of desire, the government by the wise and good | Dreiser

AT 1.145 the danger of discovery by the police | NP 1925 documents supplied by the Soviet Government ... Many of them were prepared for use by [= 'for the use of'] the Soviet Government itself | NP 1918 the prohibition of night work by women and children | NP 1923 the unconditional adherence by the United States to the League of Nations ... to propose the entrance by their government into the League.

7.6₅. S with preposition other than *of* or *by*.

In certain cases we have *from:* he feared an attack from the German army | kisses from his wife soon restored his cheerfulness | she bore these reproaches from her sister-in-law.

7.6₆. XpO.

I add a few miscellaneous examples showing various prepositions to denote the O of nexus-substantives:

love, dislike, hatred, etc.: Congreve 296 I have no more love for your daughter than I have likeness of you (cf. ib 295 love to) | By DJ 3.55 an ardent love for peace (but ib 3,56 A love of music) | Austen M 108 a love of the theatre, an itch for acting | Di Do 69 he had even a dislike, at such times, to the company of W. | Chesterton B 99 the hunger for bread, the love of woman, the love of children, the desire for immortal life | Merriman S 65 she is full of sympathy and pity for these people | Wells Cl 521 an intense hatred for her husband ... her hatred of him.

appetite, desire, etc.: Swinburne L 11 the appetite of doing good | ib 12 this inherited appetite for goodness | Spencer Ed 3 the desire of approbation overrides the desire for warmth and convenience (see also Austen M 108 and Chesterton B 99 above).

admiration, disregard, contempt, etc.: Swinburne L 28 (above 7.6_2) | Brontë V 213 with such utter disregard to the convenience of all around | Wells JP 90 to cloak a very keen hostility and contempt for the clergy |

Merriman S 63 he cultivated a fine contempt for that august body | Austen M 72 in everything but a value for Edmond [obs.; = 'a valuation of'].

Others: an organized attack on the Government | NP savage attacks on women | Brontë V 42 a civil answer to a sensible question | in obedience to orders.

As *of* is not used before an infinitive, and only exceptionally before a *that*-clause, the O may in such cases be added immediately to the nexus-substantive. Cf. vol. III 2.7.

The desire, inclination, permission, intention, temptation, need, pleasure, promise, to see her | the supposition, assertion, belief, that he had run away.

Cf. also *desirous to see her* (13.6₂).

7.7₁. Active and Passive Sense.

A nexus-substantive may be considered active when the S is indicated, and passive when the O only is indicated. If neither is indicated the sense may be said to be neutral to the distinction of active and passive; see, e. g. marriage is a dangerous affair (= 'marrying, or being married'). This applies with special weight to substantives corresponding to the verbs mentioned in vol. III 16.4 (*change*, *end*, etc.).

7.7₂. In some cases the meaning is distinctly passive, thus often after *need* and *want:* Brontë V 304 the revival needs confirmation | Di D 112 the many respects in which you need improvement | Things needing explanation (≠ these things need explaining) | Austen M 47 I never saw a place that wanted so much improvement | Locke GP 174 A woman wanted wooing, not neglect.

Cf. the use of ing (9.2₃).

(But *he wants, needs a drink:* active.)

Other cases of passive sense: it was in the process of solution | Collins W 335 without the danger of immediate discovery and pursuit | ib 5 alter me to myself almost past recognition | this thing is in demand | the

bridge is under repair | he is on trial, under suspicion, under arrest.

In the Morphology volume we shall consider the various ways in which nexus-substantives enter into compounds with their S or O.

Secondaries and Tertiaries.

7.8₁. What with a verb would be a tertiary (subjunct) becomes normally a secondary (adjunct) with a nexus-substantive, hence the adjectival form is used, cf. vol. II '12.2: shifted subjunct-adjuncts and AnalSynt 20.2. Thus (the doctor arrived speedily): the speedy arrival of the doctor 2(3) X pS; (he denied her words flatly): his flat denial of her words; (it is exceedingly difficult): Defoe R 2.25 an exceeding difficulty. Vol. II 12.24,25 has examples like: his utter detestation of it | with perfect ease | my comparative insignificance | his thorough knowledge, etc.

Cf. also Bacon A 2.3 our rare admission of strangers | Sh Hml I. 2.18 Holding a weake supposall of our worth.

On the use of *first* see vol. IV 5.9.

7.8₂. In those cases, however, in which there is no adjectival form available corresponding to an adverb, this form must be used with a nexus-substantive. This is particularly frequent with adverbs of place: *our stay here* S² X 2(3):

Ch PF 694 at hir flight away | Sh H4A IV. 4.16 with Owen Glendower's absence thence | Hml V. 2.227 I will forestall their repaire hither | Gent III. 1.160 for thy departure hence | Eastw 442 excuses for my stay behinde | Defoe P 77 make sallies out | Fielding T 1.7 his return home | Cowper L 2.385 You say nothing lately of your intended journey our way | Austen M 216 in my ride home | Di N 500 by the prudent disposal here and there of certain ornaments | Seeley E 60 the constant movement of the population westward | James

S 52 by the presence there of that lady | to save up troops for use elsewhere | travels abroad.

With regard to the quotation Amr NP 1927 "The death, recently, of Professor Vilhelm Thomsen has caused deep regret" Collinson writes: I might write that, but others would prefer the adjective.

7.83. Similarly with longer subjuncts:

Cowper L 2.379 gratified with an arm-in-arm appearance with you in public | Bennett A 203 the existence somewhere in the precincts of a dead body | the murder in Paris of his brother | Russell Ed 215 This is the result of life exclusively in towns: X pS(X_2 3 2(p1)).

7.84. We have also adverbs of time, and even longer subjuncts of time, combined in the same way with nexus-substantives:

Fielding T 4.296 as you value your continuance a moment longer in my service | NP 1937 the visit this week of King Victor Emmanuel ... may have considerable political significance | NP 1937 The publication last week of correspondence between ... || (NP) the drama culminated in the murder of a harmless husband, late one evening, beneath the gaslamps of a prim suburban street.

7.85. This leads to free combinations of nexus-substantives in which the circumstances connected with the action are expressed: in some of these the addition may even be considered an appositum to the S or O; cf. *life alone* vol. II 12.29.

Galsw Sw 44 the disappearance one by one of all the little, old Banks | Mackenzie C 72 What could be more exciting than the entrance, one by one, of the ... musicians | Sitwell M 109 [it] resulted in the formation, little by little, of a group in the lounge | Dreiser F 323 In connection with their social adjustment, one to the other | ib 35 he remembered ... the importance of it socially to Ethelberta | Williams N 231 the adoption, frankly and honourably, of the rôle of a potential second

Mr. Baynes || Galsw FM 58 That wretched girl said something of our life together | Cronin C 80 their happiness together | Wells B 107 we thought the walk alone might do him good || Dreiser F 96 Davies realized that in his absence writing a new turn had been given to things | NP 1930 the Kaiser's desertion and condemnation unheard of his friend [Eulenburg] affords further evidence of that lack of moral courage which was to prove his own undoing.

7.8₆. But it should be noticed that similar free additions are found with substantives that cannot be termed nexus-substantives, as there is no exactly corresponding verb:

This is the servant's evening out (a set phrase, which might perhaps be symbolized 1^{2*} 12^{m*}, cf. AnalSynt 3.8) | Brontë V 216 a week of evenings-out would not have made me a shade paler | Golding SD 449 It was not her idea of a night out | Sayers Unn D 137 It's only my second time out | Bell Prec Porc. 150 it was Ann's afternoon in | Bromfield ModH 280 to help Irma with the milking, for it was Carel's night in town | Lewinsohn Defeated 253 They had dinners out | he sat there in his few hours off duty | Kennedy CN 147 the prospect of an afternoon alone with his lady (also ib 180) | Walpole Cp 86 Our first time together alone | Lewinsohn Defeated 236 He, too, valued their Sundays alone together | Mason R 153 their day together had remained vividly in his thoughts | Bromfield ModH 299 In their years together he had been sullen and selfish | Wells Blw 138 this surely was my last night alive | A correspondent in The Amr. Mercury Jan. 1926 asks for the grammatical analysis of *away* in That year away from home was unique in my experience so far || NP 1937 they are typical letters home of an enthusiastic undergraduate | Wells V 7 She made up her mind in the train home || a way out || Sh Mids IV. 1.166 this purpose hither [= 'to come hither'] to this wood.

On combinations like *thy home return* | *my hence departure*, etc., in which the adverb is placed before the nexus-substantive (and the whole may be considered a kind of compound) see vol. II 14.941; ib 14.942 on the difference between *downwards* and *downward progress*, and 12.271 on *my often rumination*, etc.

Nexus-Substantives. Appendix.

7.9. Nexus-substantives are very often used to denote something other than nexus proper, namely

(1) concretely, something produced by the act: a *construction* = 'building', a *publication* = 'thing published', —or characterized by the quality: a *beauty* = 'beautiful thing or person' (all the beauties of the village), *realities* = 'real things', the chief *authority* on church history, she was the *pride* of the country and the *delight* of everybody, a *youth*, a *filth* (Sh = 'nasty woman'), he is a strong *personality*, cf. Mencken AL³ 35 a hospitality which often admits novelties for the mere sake of their novelty.

Sometimes the concrete signification becomes so habitual that a new "abstract" (nexus-substantive) is formed: *acquaintanceship*, *relationship*: Bosw 1.419 After death ... they talk of our meeting our relations: but then all relationship is dissolved.

(2) a concrete thing connected somehow with the quality: he gained a *scholarship* of £ 200.

(3) Here we may mention the use in titles: *Your Majesty*, *his excellency*, *his worship*, *a justice of the peace*, and combinations like *he is all mirth* (vol. II 17.58).

(4) collectively, a group of persons characterized in this way: all the *nobility* were assembled, *ancestry*, a *conspiracy*, the *priesthood*, *Christianity* = 'all Christians', NP 1924 Our manhood and our womanhood must be educated up to the standard of knowledge which will enable them to pass judgment. Cf. vol. II 4.94 on *youth*.

Chapter VIII.

The Gerund. Substantival Nature.

8.1₁. "Ing" is used here as a comprehensive technical term for those English forms which from a syntactical point of view must be considered as two different things, a gerund and a participle ("first participle", generally called "present participle").

On the forms *end* (and others with *nd*) and *ing* see Morphology.

The analytic symbol for the ing as gerund is G, as a participle Y, see Analytic Syntax Ch. 2.

8.1₂. The gerund and participle offer so many different problems that it is no wonder they have been dealt with in a good many grammatical books and papers. The following are those I have found most useful:

A. Erdmann, Essay on the History and Modern Use of the Verbal Form in -ing. Stockholm 1871.

R. Blume, Ueber den ursprung und die entwicklung des gerundiums im englischen. Jena diss. 1880.

H. Weyhe, Zu den altenglischen verbalabstracten. Halle 1911.

G. O. Curme, History of the English Gerund. EStn 45. 349 ff., cf. also Anglia 38.1 ff. (Einenkel), 491 ff. and 39.270 ff. (Curme), and M. Callaway, The Origin of the Gerund, Klaeber Festschrift 32 ff. (against Curme).

G. Ch. van Langenhove, On the Origin of the Gerund in English, Gand 1925, deals chiefly with OE and ME forms and thus falls outside this volume. In the very full bibliography (10 pages!) the above-named books by Erdmann, Blume, and Weyhe are not found.

F. Mossé, Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique *être* + participe présent. I—II. Paris 1938.

In this chapter we have exclusively to do with those

employments of the ing in which it is clearly a gerund, see ch. XXII on the participle.

8.13. Like other nexus-substantives (see above 7.9) ings may in many instances be used to denote something else than nexus proper.

(1) concretely: *beginning*, *ending* (a novel with a happy ending), *opening*, *blessing*, *warning*, the *meaning* of a word, *wedding;* a thing produced by *-ing: building*, *drawing*, *leavings*, *savings*, *shaving*, (newspaper-)*cutting*, *carvings*, steel-*filings*, *deservings* 'what a man deserves' (Sh often), Harraden Sh 109 her paltry *winnings*, *having* 'what one has', e. g. Sh Tw III. 4.379.

Note *knitting* in two senses: Di D 531 Mrs Heep had asked permission to bring herself and her knitting near the fire, in that room | ib 532 Mrs Heep resumed her knitting ... Next day the knitting and watching began again.

On the difference between singular *writing* and plural *writings* see vol. II 4.62.

(2) instrument, means of *-ing: covering*, a clergyman's *living*, paper-*hangings*, Kipl J 2.118 they are very good *eating*, *firing* 'fuel' Sh Tp II. 2.185.

(3) what -s: the *happenings* of life, Di P 609 pretty *goings on*, his *belongings*.

(4) collectively: *following* 'a body of followers'.

8.14. There is a lively competition between ings and other nexus-substantives; in some but not in all cases it is possible to indicate more or less exactly the difference between the two formations. The short form (sb = vb) often denotes a single action, ing a general habit or tendency:

He went out for a *row :* he goes in for *rowing*.

He gave her a *kiss :* he objects to *kissing* in public.

In the afternoon I like a *smoke* and a *read : smoking* and *reading*. Darwin says in one of his letters: 'I have just finished, after several reads, your paper'; this implies that he did not read it from beginning to end at

one sitting; if he had written 'after several readings' he would have implied that he had read it through several times.

Tell a *lie : lying* is sinful.

Cf. also *smell : smelling, taste : tasting, touch : touching, sight : seeing* (but *hearing* corresponds to both these words), *mend : mending, feel : feeling*, the *end* of a story: a happy *ending* (but *beginning* corresponding to both). *The build of a house* and *the make of a machine* are different from *the building of the house* and *the making of the machine. The sit of a coat* may sometimes be spoilt at one *sitting*, and we speak of *dressing*, not of *dress*, in connexion with a salad, etc. The enormous development of these convenient differentiations belongs to the most recent period of the language.

8.15. *Act(ion) : acting*, as in NP: "From my actions, sir, you wouldn't take me for an actor?"—"No, nor from your acting either!" [special sense!].

Dance : dancing, as in Walpole DW 52 The second dance came ... The dancing [= manner of dancing] was not of the very best.

Laugh, laughter : laughing, as in Lamb E 1.130 He has some speculative notions against laughter, and will maintain that laughing is not natural to him.

Thought : thinking, as in Pope 238 with too much thinking to have common thought | Ballard Thought and Language 191 thinking must go on until the thoughts are clear and coherent | to my thinking.

Belief : believing, as in Lowell 320 I may call Their belief a believing in nothing at all.

The *hunt* = the men participating in the *hunting*.

A *meet* (especially in the sporting world) : a *meeting* (more general sense).

Life : living, as in Browning 1.275 How good is man's life, the mere living | Stevenson VP 162 we do not, properly speaking, have life at all, but living | id M 101 that is the object of long living, that man should

cease to care about life. *Living* often is = 'the means of living', esp. 'an ecclesiastical benefice'.

Love : loving, Mannin W 123 she didn't know anything at all about love and loving: what exactly is the distinction?

Death is the accomplished fact (= having died, being dead), *dying* rather the preparation (cf. *is dying* vol. IV 14.3), see Kingsley H 237 'And why should man fear death?'—'Ahem! No, not death, of course; but the act of dying' | Locke SJ 183 Death is nothing; it is dying that is such a nuisance.

Tale : telling, as in The tale lost much in the telling | NP 1902 There is strength alike in the tale and in the telling.

Substantival Nature of the Gerund.

8.16. The gerund in the following syntactic respects is (or may be) treated exactly like any other nexus-substantive:

(1) it can be the subject, predicative, or object of a sentence, also the regimen ("object") of a preposition.
(2) it can form a plural.
(3) it can form a genitive.
(4) it can be used with a definite and indefinite article.
(5) it can take other adjuncts.
(6) it can have a subject and an object with it in the same way as other nexus-substantives (genitive, preposition).
(7) it can enter into compounds.

But there has been for centuries a growing tendency to treat the gerund syntactically like the finite verbal forms, thus

(1) by using adverbs freely with it.
(2) by forming a perfect.
(3) by forming a passive, also a perfect passive.

(4) by taking an object without a preposition.
(5) by taking a subject without a preposition.
(6) by being preceded by *there* as 'lesser subject'.

The development by which the gerund has acquired more and more of the syntactic characteristics of the verb has been very gradual and has been furthered by the formal identity of the gerund and the participle. The whole thing is a perfectly natural consequence of native English conditions, and there is hardly any need for invoking foreign influence to any great extent (French: Einenkel; Keltic: Preusler IF 56. 179 ff.).

We shall now deal with these things separately.

8.2₁. Examples of the use of the gerund as subject and object, will be found in a great number throughout the following pages (see also Analytic Syntax 19); in the following chapters on the infinitive the boundaries between gerund and infinitive will be discussed.

It is perhaps worth noting that the now current phrase *cannot help -ing* is not yet found in Sh, Mi, Pope (according to Concordances); NED has examples from 1711 on.

As an indirect object the gerund is not frequent, but may be found; Sonnenschein has an example: Give truth-telling a chance.

In the common phrase *it is no use crying* (on *your*, or *you crying* see below 9.7₂) *it* is the lesser (or preparatory) subject and the gerund the subject proper. s V P (2ⁿ1) S(G); but there is an alternative construction (chiefly Irish) with *there:* Shaw TT 282 there's no use my staying here | Moore EW 106 if they were all like her there'd be very little use our coming here | ib 135 there was no use thinking of them | Christie Cards 49 there is no good shirking it: 3/s V P(2ⁿ1) S(GO).

8.2₂. A gerund may be the predicative of a sentence, thus in the familiar "That's talking!" = 'Now you're saying something that I approve of' (e. g. Stevenson JHF 81). Further examples:

Gay BP 57 this is carrying the joke a little too far | Defoe G 16 This is granting as much as can be demanded | Goldsm V 1.128 it would be giving a sanction to adultery | id 613 would not that be usurping an authority that more properly belongs to yourself? | ib 620 this was going to the fountain-head at once | Quincey 299 if that is not being virtuous, I should be glad to know what is | Maugham P 41 He's far and away the best bridge player in the Club. That's not saying very much | Galsw SS 256 I don't know that I'm shocked by anything.—That would be being stuffy, wouldn't it? | Shaw A 187 Making life means making trouble.

Gerunds may occur as either part of a simple nexus-object:

I call that talking! S V O(S_2 P(G)) | I consider giving to beggars (as) highly immoral | Sh H4A II. 4.16 they call drinking deepe, dying scarlet | Sheridan 255 I think being a standing jest for all one's acquaintance a very happy situation | Trelawny R 31 [Byron:] Do you call getting fat looking well, as if I were a hog? | Shaw TT 54 You dont call being an invalid living, do you?

Note the infinitive as S and the gerund as P in By DJ 4.66 if ye could call to be so being S V O(S_2(I 3) P(G)).

8.23. A gerund is very frequent after *worth* (R, see AnalSynt Ch. 11).

Sh Tw II. 2.16 If it bee worth stooping for | ib III. 4.328 hee findes that now scarce to bee worth talking of (also Cy II. 4.68) | Austen P 193 Stupid men are the only ones worth knowing | Tennyson 183 we should find the land Worth seeing | Benson DB 120 this was a moment worth living for.

After *like:* Shaw TT 72 Nothing succeeds like lying | Seeing this was like witnessing the fifth act of a tragedy.

But there is a different use of *like* in the idiomatic phrase: I felt like crying (felt as if I were going to cry,

felt inclined to cry): Collingwood R 320 his horses were an admirable pair, and looked like going | Maugham Pl 2.321 I guess I shan't feel much like writing.

8.24. As the regimen of a preposition the gerund is generally preferred to the infinitive. The phenomenon is so familiar that a bare enumeration is sufficient except in very few cases.

About: he talked about leaving.—On *about to leave* see 14.2.

Above: he is not above advertising himself.

After saying this, he sat down.

Against: I must caution you against trusting him.

At: he was annoyed at discovering this.

Before leaving the country.

Besides being dangerous it was stupid.

Between laughing and crying.

By: he succeeded by working hard.

For: a taste for travelling | there are many reasons for suspecting him | Goldsm V 1.43 I was instantly for returning | Sterne 23 My father was for having the man-mid-wife | Maugham Alt 254 I'm all for having a good time with the girls out here | Austen P 274 she is a great fool for getting away, if she liked him.

From: his feet were sore from walking | Maugham Alt 1509 sometimes she could not help herself from being a trifle sharp with Neil (rare, cf. 14.3_4).

In: engaged in collecting proofs | Brontë P 1 The other day, in looking over my papers, I found the following letter | Sh Cymb V. 5.212 all the villaines past, in being [= present], to come | a fleet in being [alive].

Into: he talked himself into believing this nonsense.

Near: Stevenson K 248 Again she came near sobbing.

Of: fond of reading | instead of going | Sterne M 1.24 I was within an ace of saying nine hundred years.

On seeing me, he exclaimed | I complimented him on passing his examination.—*On* reduced to *a* [ə] see below 8.25.

Past: Stevenson K 302 that's past praying for (common).
Since parting from her.
To, see under Infinitive.
Towards: This speech did much towards conciliating the opposition.
Upon opening the door.
With: tired with walking.
Without waiting for a reply.

8.25. One of the prepositions most often used with the ing as its regimen is *on*, often shortened into *a* [ə], and as the combination *on* (*a*) + gerund often means nearly the same thing as the participle, a good deal of vacillation between this combination and the bare ing has taken place, see vol. IV 12 and below under the Participle. As an interesting consequence we must note the illiterate use of the *a*-form where the mere gerund is meant:

Sketchley Cleopatra 19 and a precious good job their a-sending on [= of] 'im to Ollerway [= Holloway] | ib 57 as to your not a-sleeping | Orig. Engl. 41 coz [= because] of the boards a moving | Thenks 55 instid uv a-'ittin' uv the ball.

8.26. Gerunds are frequent after *as, than:* This is as good as (better than) going to the play | Maxwell F 11 further than gratefully admiring him, Bowen felt very fond of him.

In recent times the combination *as well as* is not infrequently treated as a preposition with a gerund = 'besides', e. g. in Benson DB 243 as you're a Trinity scholar as well as being captain of the eleven | Maxwell F 161 she governed as well as presiding | id ML 36 As well as being unwashed, the girl seemed thick-headed | id BY 103 he loathed Yorke, as well as fearing him (also ib 92, 132, 216).

In a similar way Williams N 14 Major Morgan never, as a matter of fact, got *so far as* going.

8.31. A plural of a gerund is found—apart from those

obvious instances in which the gerund is no longer a nexus-substantive, but an ordinary concrete substantive (see 8.1_3)—in cases like these (note especially those in which there is a supplementary adverb):

Ch F 285—6 Swich subtil loking and dissimulinges For drede of jalouse mennes aperceyvinges | Marlowe F IV. 4 hast thou any comings in? Ay, and goings out too | Austen M 148 doing the lookings on, at your ease | Di P 410 after several droppings asleep, and fallings forward towards the bars, and catchings backward ... Mr. Dowler made up his mind | id N 34 none of those ill-judged comings home twice a year | id D 793 in the course of our goings to and fro | Thack V 73 all his outgoings and incomings | Tennyson 105 She sleeps. her breathings are not heard.

8.3₂. The genitive of a gerund is naturally rare, because as a general rule only words denoting persons are used in the genitive. I have no examples except before *sake:* Ward F 289 fond of managing for managing's sake | Morley Diderot 171 when we read only for reading's sake (more often *for the sake of -ing*).

8.3₃. The gerund can be used with the indefinite and the definite article. A common phrase is *have a liking for*, expanded in Quincey 52 I also had a deadly liking (perhaps a morbid liking) for solitude.

The definite article is frequent in the combination *in (during) the -ing:* Mi A 46 opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making | Hope Ch 239 a feeling that, not vulgar in itself, seemed to become vulgar in the telling | Kipling J 2.22 the tale has not lost fat in the telling.

Here it should be noted that the subject implied in the gerund is not the subject of the sentence itself (or we might say that the gerund has a passive import); the same is true of some indications of a very short time as: in the twinkling of an eye | Goldsm 648 I'll be with you in the squeezing of a lemon.

A frequent phrase is *this is yours for the asking*, i. e. the only thing required is that you ask for it: Scott (NED) A lass that may be had for the asking | Huxley L 1.58 remarkable facts were to be had for the picking up | Maxwell F 126 Prosperity was his for the grasping | Oppenheim Pawns Count 142 China's hers [Japan's] for the taking.

After *worth, the* is frequent: Di Do 4 a something which was well worth the having | Thack N 237 not because the conversations are worth the remembering or recording | Kipling DW 23 everything that made a hard life worth the living.

Other examples of *the* before the gerund: Caxton R 29 he coude not lete the lokyng after the polayll | Austen M 65 I quite dreaded the coming home again | Kipling J 2.187 the sitting still is the hardest work an Innuit knows | Lawrence L 33 The being thwarted made her more determined | It was Mary who did the talking.

Below many examples will be given of *the* + gerund + object (obsolescent without *of*, now usually with *of*).

8.34. The gerund can be used with other adjuncts:

Ch F 305 swich wondring was ther. on this hors | Havelok 2684 þer was swilk dreping of the folk | Caxton R 43 as sone as this speking was done | Sh Oth IV. 2.45 An instrument of this your calling backe | R2 III. 1.4 With too much vrging your pernitious liues.

A frequent idiomatic type is "there is no—ing":

AR 288 þet ter nis non wiðsigginge [= there is no refusing] | Wycl. Mat. 22.23 there is no rysyng aȝein | BJo 3.41 there is no enjoying this world without thee | Sh Ado III. 2.40 If he bee not in loue with some woman, there is no beleeuing old signes | there is no denying it | there is no disputing about tastes.

Formerly also *it is no* ...: Marlowe E 904 it is no dealing with him now | Sh Gent IV. 4.71 'tis no trusting to yond foolish lout.

8.3$_5$. Descriptive adjectives with gerunds are what in vol. II 12.2 were termed shifted subjunct-adjuncts: (*he*) *runs rapidly* becomes (*his*) *rapid running*. Examples of this 2(3)G:

Ch B 2022 thurgh his fair berynge | Caxton R 110 to me thou losest thy swete floytyng | Sh Hml II. 2.4 The neede we haue to vse you did prouoke Our hastie sending | ib IV. 3.8 This sodaine sending him away must seeme Deliberate pause | Bunyan P 180 a note of directions about the way, for our more sure finding therof | Defoe R 7 the judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house | Kingsley Y 42 Between rheumatism and constant handling the rod and gun | forgive my plain speaking | public speaking.

Cf. the following instances in which the adjective and the adverb have the same form: Caxton R 91 for his lowde cryyng we bote him to death | Thack P 3.1 after long frequenting her society | Tennyson 135 his long wooing her.

On the use of adverbs with gerunds see 8.6$_2$ and 9.1.

Object of the Gerund.

8.4$_1$. The use of a genitive (possessive) was frequent in OE, e. g. Oros 17.35 to eacan þæs landes sceawunge | Cura P 170.21 ðære rædinge & leornunge haligra gewrita | Beda 1.5 buton ænigre are sceawunge.—It is rare in ModE, and is there generally found with personal (possessive) pronouns only, as in Sh Lr I. 1.24 there was good sport at his making | R3 IV. 3.53 I will take order for her keeping close | Defoe R 325 never was any thing so unpleasant as it was to me to wear such cloaths at their first putting on | Di D 111 I was held to be necessary to my mother's training | Thack N 771 they were eager after his undoing | Graves IC 190 this generosity of heart would of course be his undoing O^2 G (note the difference from *his doing* S^2 G).

8.42. The preposition *of* serves to mark the object of a gerund. This was the regular construction in ME, and is frequent even in ModE. I shall first give examples in which an adjective shows the substantival character of the ing:

Ch F 243 they speken of sondry harding of metal | Sh Ven 915 another licking of his wound | Ru F 25 only by direct doing of these three things | Vachell H 153 the appetite for reckless breaking of the law.

After the indefinite article: Lamb R 7 rustics never passed them without a bow or a pulling off of the hat | Spencer F 98 an overwhelming defeat of the party in power and a thrusting of them aside by the opposition.

8.43. After the definite article the *of*-construction has always been frequent; since the beginning of the 19th c. it has been the construction required by native grammarians. Examples:

LondE 74 for the refresshing of vs and our said hoost | Caxton R 54 so glad was he of the makyng of this pees | More U 252 in the buildinge of their houses [2nd ed. *the* omitted] | Eastw 495 hoarce with the often repeating of it | Sh Hml III. 3.85 To take him in the purging of his soule | Bacon A 23.6 instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things | Mi A 7 Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comedians were supprest, though the acting of them were forbid. Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes | Swift T 78 what related to the wearing of their coats | Goldsm V 1.36 our gooseberry wine; for the making of which we had lost neither the receipt nor the reputation | Di D 82 the hearing of all this outlasted the banquet some time | Thack N 641 since the telling of those little fibs | Meredith T 71 she became almost reconciled to the not seeing of the noble actor | Hope R 189 he imitated the putting of a noose about a man's throat | Russell Ed 111 In the ordinary English upper-class family, the killing of birds is considered

highly creditable, and the killing of men in war is regarded as the noblest of professions | Galsw FS 258 She was not accustomed to be afraid of asking questions—all organisation was based on the asking of questions! || Gissing H 131 The two points ... were the keeping clean of her room and the decent preparation of her meals.

A special case is the use of *have the —ing of* = 'have the power of —ing', as in Marlowe F (1616) 1172 [an ape] let me haue the carrying of him about | Sh Tro II. 1.30 I would ... I had the scratching of thee | Congreve 235 they love to have the spoiling of a young thing | Swinburne L 78 I never can believe that she really had the bringing up of Amicia in her own hands | GE A 415 if the chaff-cutter had the making of us, we should be all straw.

Another special use is seen in Austen M 267 your marrying early may be the saving of you [= what will save you; also e. g. Stevenson D 91, id T 41, Bennett LR 272] | Ridge G 176 it will certainly be the making of you (also Shaw Ms 41, Galsw Ca 149, Hankin 2.153). In the plural: Kipling L 240 there are the makings of a very fine prig in you | Carpenter C 97 Are there not also in every man the makings of a universal consciousness.

8.4₄. After *this* and *that* the object with *of* is regular: this (that) knitting of his brow was typical of John.

After *no:* Sh H8 I. 3.43 For sure there's no conuerting of 'em | Meredith E 137 there was no reading either of her or the mystery.

But the direct object without *of* is here more frequent, see 9.3_3.

8.4₅. The object with *of* is found after a possessive pronoun indicating the subject (thus S^2 G pO; note in the quotation from Bunyan the adverb *thus*, which indicates the verbal rather than the substantival conception: Ch T 5.1833 And thus bigan his lovinge of

Criseyde | (Sh?) E3 I. 1.125 informde Of your withdrawing of your army back | Bunyan G 47 in my thus considering of other men's sins, and comparing of them with mine own | Hope R 124 among the sins of Rupert I did not assign the greatest place to his killing of the king | James S 43 the deep domestic drama of their casting of lots (thus several times in James) | Wells Ma 2.262 their elaborate planning-out of a new life.

8.46. Finally we have the *of*-construction after a gerund which is not preceded by any such adjunct; here *of* is nowadays considerably rarer than in former times:

Ch C 874 to swynke In caryinge of the gold out of that place (also A 569, HF 306, E 162, etc.) | Caxton R 28 without bowyng of your legges | More U 219 by pryntynge of bookes | Marlowe F 1475 Rend not my heart for naming of my Christ | id E 567 enrowle his name For purging of the realme of such a plague | Bacon A 41.14 meanes of producing of light | Bunyan P 56 I thank you for receiving of me | Swift J 175 This way of journal is the worst in the world for writing of news | Fielding T 4.24 his skill in gaining of women | Bosw 2.93 if a physician were to take to eating of horse-flesh | Carlyle H 3 Answering of this question is giving us the soul of the history | Di Do 415 [vg] as to giving of you up | Collingwood R 290 sacrifice themselves in fasting and wearing of camels'-hair coats.

8.47. The gerund followed by *of* may be formed from a composite verbal expression (in AnalSynt denoted G^w):

Maugham C 70 Emily was a flighty young thing, and Mary-Ann didn't know whatever would become of me if she had the looking after of me | Moore EW 202 Esther was sorry that anyone but herself should have the looking after of that dear kind soul. (Wells Ma 2.262 above 8.4_5).

8.4s. *Of* before a nexus-object is dealt with in the general chapter about such dependent nexuses. Note Masterman in NP 1923 By ragging and bullying I mean the making of life almost intolerable [G pO(S_2 3 P)] to a certain type of boy. *Of* is rare and hardly natural before an infinitival nexus (an accusative with infinitive), as in Galsw FS 119 She was spared the watching of the branches jut out | Doyle S 3.143 the first point is the making of Mycroft write a declaration.

8.4g. In very rare cases an indirect object is connected with the gerund by means of the preposition *of;* an English friend qualified my last quotation as "horrid English altogether": Hart Orthogr. 1569.71 (rewritten in ordinary spelling) Quintilian's order touching teaching of childer [= children] their letters | Bunyan G 10 She also would be often telling of me, what a godly man her father was | Punch [q] There's this Irishman here been a tellin of you 'ow wrong it is | Powell, American Anthropologist 1900. 625 words may have figurate meanings. The giving of words figurate meanings is founded on the concomitancy of properties.

Subject of the Gerund.
Genitive (Possessive).

8.5i. The subject of the gerund is naturally expressed by the genitive case or a possessive pronoun, just as in the case of any other nexus substantive (above 7.2 and 7.4).

Examples of names of persons: Ch E 512 Glad was this markis of hir answering | ib 492 with-oute your witing | id F 286 for drede of jalouse mennes aperceyvinges | Caxton R 25 thenne muste ye promyse to leue your steelyng and rouynge | Sh Lucr 1089 leaue thy peeping | Tw II. 2.11 vnlesse it bee to report your lords taking of this | Wiv V. 3.9 he will chafe at the doctors marrying my daughter | Bacon A 32.7 His

comming is in state; but the cause of his comming is secret | Swift J 62 I hear nothing of Lord Mountjoy's coming for Ireland | Goldsm V 1.45 she insisted upon her landlord's stepping in | Cowper L 2.412 she may depend upon their being exactly attended to | Quincey 337 on Kate's agreeing to undertake the management | Austen P 160 the strangeness of Mr. Collins's making two offers of marriage within three days | Di D 571 the step you dread my taking, I shall never take | id P 478 Having a decided objection to his master's being there at all | ib 498 his being a prisoner here, renders it impossible | Macaulay H 1.30 there could be no serious objection to his doing formally what he might do virtually | Benson DB 223 there was no chance of Frank's dropping in | Shaw 2.272 it all depended on your naturally liking me.

Note the group genitive in Sh Wiv V. 3.16 at the very instant of Falstaffes and our meeting | Di P 434 requesting his consent to Sam and Mr. Winkle's remaining at Bristol.

Her own is the equivalent of the genitive of *she herself:* Di D 110 she was not only ceaselessly afraid of her own offending, but of my offending.

8.52. A special case of common occurrence is *of —'s making*, meaning 'which—has made':

Sh As III. 2.216 Is he of Gods making? What manner of man? | BJo A 3.323 An instrument he has, of his owne making | Defoe M 73 most of the estate was of her getting | Swift T 29 they are seminaries not only of our planting, but our watering too | Di D 804 I could not resign you to a dearer protector, of your own choosing | Brontë V 197 no explanation of his giving, no fact of his narrating, did I ever forget | id P 193 she had fallen into a snare of her own laying | Hardy L 80 the curls were not altogether of Nature's making | London M 396 an ethereal creature of his own creating | Maxwell EG 272 This meeting was not of his arranging.

Cf. also Sh Tw III. 4.82 it is Ioues doing | Austen M 98 it is entirely her own doing | ib 140 It was all Miss Crawford's doing | Di D 571 I told Agnes it was her doing | all his doings = 'everything done by him'.

8.5$_3$. Examples of names of things put in this way in the genitive: Fielding T 2.11 There is no indecorum in the proposal's coming from the parent | Butler Anal. of Rel. 1736 2 there was no such thing as water's becoming hard | Osborne 148 you owe it me for the last's [= last letter's] being soe short | Austen P 43 doubt as to the occasion's justifying her coming so far alone | id S 238 Elinor was prevented ... by the door's being thrown open | Poe S 74 there seemed to be some slight appearance of the gale's abating | Ruskin Sel 1.166 deception occasioned by a thing's intentionally seeming different from what it is | Holmes A 81 he can laugh with either half of his face without the other half's knowing it | Butler W 381 his mother kicked a little at first against the money's having gone to him | Mackenzie RR.201 anxious to prevent anything's happening to upset ... || id PR 126 there is really not the least likelihood of anything's serious having happened to them.

8.5$_4$. The genitive *its* is frequent in this connexion (cf. below 9.7$_1$ on *it*): Austen P 387 only think of its being three months since I went away | Scott A 1.109 without its occurring to either of them to be alarmed | Di M 246 Who would have thought of its being you | GE L 1.262 in spite of its being the end of the quarter | Meredith H 99 no doubt could exist of its having been the Portuguese | ib 259 There! you talk of it's being unnatural, his dining out at respectable tables | Kaye Smith HA 200 I'd rather lose a good thing through it's being refused me than ... Note the spelling *it's* used more frequently in this case than with other employments of *its*.

Subject with *of*.

8.5₅. If this way of expressing the subject of a gerund is less used than the genitive, the reason must probably be sought in the fact that it reverses the usual order of placing the subject before the verb. Both constructions are found together in Sh: Merch V. 241 "in the hearing of these many friends" | Lucr 1123 "in my hearing" | Austen M 401 the joyful consent of her father and mother to Susan's going with her—the general satisfaction with which the going of both seemed regarded.

Further Caxton R 82 the shynyng of the stone made and gaf as grete a lyghte as it had been mydday | Defoe P 57 at the coming of King James the First to the crown | ib 96 in the first breaking out of the distemper | Di D 97 they had not been abashed by the unexpected coming in of Steerforth | ib 407 to see the clinging of that pretty little thing to her uncle | ib 736 I seemed to see a rending and upheaving of all Nature | Barrie MO 10 the coming of the chairs seems to be something I remember.

We find this in a set phrase consisting of a verb and its object: Williamson Wedding D 297 She found herself falling forward with the *giving way* of some panel in which the two spyholes were cut.

Subject with *by*.

8.5₆. This seems to be found only when the object is expressed by *of:* Spenser (Globe ed.) 614 Were they not soe at the first conquering of them by Strangbowe | Mi A 17 As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Pauls converts | Di M 5 in gentle unison with the light scattering of seed hither and thither by the distant husbandman | Macaulay E 3.83 whether they thought the taking of gifts by a judge a crime | Trollope

A 27 I cannot call to mind any learning by me of other languages | Kidd S 12 with the seizing of political control by the proletariat, and the turning by them of the means of production into state property | Wells Br 304 How well I understand now the shooting of officers by their men | Galsw MW 147 "God is the helping of man by man, somebody once said."—"And the Devil?"—"The harming of man by man" | Dickinson War 57 Wars are caused, not by these passions of ordinary men, but by the playing upon them by particular men | Walpole Cp 61 naïve and awkward as is always the singing of English hymns in English churches by English citizens | Graves IC 142 the anointing by her of the doorposts.

Subject or Object?

8.57. On account of the double function, transitive and intransitive, of many verbs, (see vol. III 16), it is sometimes doubtful whether the word joined to *-ing* by means of *of*, is to be looked upon as the object of the verb in its former function (somebody opens the door) or as the subject of it in its latter function (the door opens), see e. g. Di D 55 the ringing of bells, the opening and shutting of doors, the murmuring of voices | ib 450 there was general breaking up of the party | Thack P 1.38 What moving about of lanterns in the court-yard and stables ... what a gathering of servants, as Pen came home.

Compounds.

8.61. A gerund may enter into compounds in the same way as any other substantive. It is the first member of compounds like:

OE Lucas 6.57 ða wæs gefylled Elizabethe cenningtid | leornungcniht | Ch E 868 weddyng ryng | Caxton R 12 reynart had many a dwellyng place | More U 81

a laughyng stocke | Sh Cy III. 2.78 a riding-suit | Swift J 109 'Tis not shaving-day | Shelley L 594 the eating chestnuts [= eatable ch.] | Thack N 364 She is subject to fainting fits | ib 352 put thy travelling boots on | Di T 1.135 Those were drinking days | Zangwill G 177 the unveiling ceremony | Shaw J 137 growing pains.

Note the use before the prop word *one* Di P 547 now a verse of a love song, and then a verse of a drinking one.

The following are constantly used:

blotting-paper | boxing gloves | knitting needles | shoeing-horn | stumbling block | walking-stick | writing materials.

8.62. The ing which enters into a compound may itself be qualified by some adverb or similar word or words:

Sh As IV. 1.113 in a more comming on disposition | Di P 476 Mr. Pickwick gradually worked himself to the boiling-over point | id D 99 the breaking-up day | ib 117 by the trying-on time | ib 169 the getting up bell (also Anstey V 198) | Thack Sk 13 your dining-out suit | Darwin L 1.334 a lying-in hospital | NP q NED the bride's going-away dress | Benson D 164 a small sitting-out room (at a ball) | Graves IC 142 My coming of age ceremony || the Seeing New York automobiles.

8.63. In some combinations one might hesitate between looking on the ing as a participle or as a gerund used as first part of a compound. Mätzner 3.73 compares *falling sickness* with OHG *fallandiu suht*, G *fallendes leid* [cf. also Dan. *faldende syge*]; with Sh's *weeping tears* (As II. 4.53) may be compared Dan. *med grædende tåre* (Holberg, etc.); cf. also F *thé dansant*. If the ing in some groups is to be taken as participle, this should be compared with the use mentioned in vol. II 12.4: *sick-room, her married life*, but I prefer calling it a gerund as first part of a compound:

Sh R3 IV. 2.119 I am not in the giuing vaine to day

| Sterne M 1.161 if thou art in a giving humour—give me | Di D 49 I take a last drowning look at the page ... I start off at a racing pace | GE A 421 hard-working days | Stevenson JH 135 The water of the canal stood about the drinking temperature of tea | a living wage [= a wage on which you can (barely) live, a subsistence wage].

I take the ing to be a gerund in frequent combinations with a genitive or possessive like Mi A 51 the last words of his dying charge | Defoe M 37 I said my singing days were over | Swift P 82 her dancing days are over | Quincey 81 the object on which I fixed my parting gaze | ib 287 to his dying day (frequent, cf. GE Mill 2.177 my father's dying wish) | Brontë V 390 a woman's waking thoughts ... her sleeping fantasies | Di D 57 my parting breakfast | Thack N 99 Binnie had his retiring pension | Carlyle S 15 These were the Professor's talking seasons | Ruskin F 4 my marching days | Caine E 216 his laughing days are over.

A special case is Stevenson Dy 87 it was already *groping dark*.

In other instances it would perhaps be more justifiable to take the ing as a participle, because it has approximately the value of a qualifying adjective applied to the following substantive: Brontë P 351 If I were a marrying man (which I am not) | Twain M 204 the great English reprint publishing houses of Germany | Gissing H 197 Charles was a racing and betting man. Cp the combination with *dull* in Sh Mids III. 2.8 while she was in her dull and sleeping hower. Note Christie BD S 336 Alix, who had always considered herself 'not the falling-in-love kind'.—Poutsma 4.474 takes a greater number of such combinations as gerund-compounds than I should.

Palmer Gr 348 marks the difference in tone between
participle: ə ¯da·nsiŋ dɔl—and
gerund: ə ˎda·nsiŋ hɔ·l.

8.64. When a gerund is the last part of a compound, the first part is very often the object of the gerund. Thus in OE *godspelbodung* and others | AR 422 blod-letunge = ModE blood-letting | Ch B 2681 restreyne yow of vengeance-takinge (also 2619, 2621) | Sh H4A I. 2.115 purse-taking | Mcb IV. 3.81 my more-hauing | Tp II. 1.185 go a bat-fowling | Quincey 176 the practice of opium-eating | Peacock M 128 game-bagging, poacher-shooting, trespasser-pounding, footpath-stopping, common-enclosing, rack-renting, and all the other liberal pursuits | Austen M 189 [and common] house-keeping | ib 361 he was too happy for letter-writing | Brontë P 99 backbiting and talebearing were universal | Macaulay H 1.252 card-playing, and cock-fighting | Di D 87 story-telling | Fox 2.81 he was always fond of star-gazing | Caine C 35 no time for sight-seeing and holiday-making | Kipling J 2.156 pictures of elephant-catching | Shaw C 54 the duty of truth telling.

The object is a group: Ch B 2772 withouten wrong or harm doyng to any other persone | Defoe G 123 to make their hearts glad with his open house-keeping.

A gerund with preceding object may itself be first part of a compound: Quincey 203 the opium-eating habits; cf. also ib 44 that rope-dancing feat of some verse-writers.

Cf. below $22{,}2_3$ on the same compound form as a participle.

8.65. Other compounds in which the first part is not exactly the object of the gerund, but which are nevertheless similar to those dealt with here: Di Do 190 I took to bird-catching and walking-matching | id D 237 he had been born to seafaring | ib 810 what with sheep-farming, and what with stock-farming.

The first part is the subject of the gerund:

Morris E 116 at the sun-setting | Wilde SM 88 from sunrise into sun-setting.

The first part of a compound may be a tertiary to

the verbal idea: Ayenbite 264 (quoted by Blume) inguoynge | Ch A 907 at myn hom-comynge (also LGW 2100 and often later) | Sh Cymb III. 2.65 our hence-going | Brontë 245 keeping anxious guard over our incomings and outgoings | back-sliding | Caine P 38 allowances for her upbringing and education (note that there is no verb *upbring*).

Chapter IX.

The Gerund. Verbal Nature.

In this chapter we deal with those points in which the syntax of the gerund has approached that of finite verbs.

Tertiaries with Gerunds.

On those combinations in which an adverb (tertiary) enters as first part into a compound with a gerund as second part, see 8.6_2.

9.1₁. A gerund combined with a following adverb that supplements the verbal idea.

This begins in the 14th c.: Ayenbite 263 ate uerste guoinge in (many quotations in Blume) | Mandv 282 at oure goynge out | Ch MP 10.11 thy [fortune's] whirling up and doun | id H 67 in liftinge up his hevy dronken cors | Caxton R 95 without goyng in to the myre | Gosson Sch. of Abuse 23 Marius giueth an account of his bringing vp | Marlowe E 859 thy parting hence | Sh Lr V. 2.10 Men must endure Their going hence, euen as their comming hither | Cymb II. 4.23 worthy his frowning at | Gent IV. 3.29 my flying hence | R2 III. 3.112 His coming hither | AV Ps 139.2 Thou knowest my downe sitting, and mine vprising ... 3 my lying downe | ib Hebr 10.27 a certaine fearefull looking for

of iudgement | Ruskin T 17 you think such matters need debating about? | Mrs Carlyle in Carlyle F 3.184 getting what waiting on I absolutely needed | Twain H 1.28 I got a good going-over from Miss Watson, on account of my clothes | Ridge G 100 I gave your father a straight talking to | Pinero S 105 it's my duty, as an old friend, to give you a good talking-to | Shaw Ibsen 5 the explanation will not be an explaining away | Caine C 151 they went on with their making-up.

9.1₂. Examples of the plural of such gerunds: AV Job 7.4 I am full of tossings to and fro | Bunyan P 79 he heard rushings to and fro | id G 4 my castings down, and risings up.

9.1₃. The gerund and adverb may in rare cases be separated by an object: Defoe Rox 182 any of the people that had the breeding of them [children] up.

9.1₄. Other more descriptive adverbs that do not form complements of the verbal idea may also be added after the gerund:

Ch I 618 And ofte tyme swich cursinge wrongfully retorneth agayn to him that curseth | ib 1055 in suffringe paciently wronges (cp. the following: and eek in pacient suffraunce of maladies) | Mary Shelley F 91 the shutting of the gates regularly at ten o'clock had rendered our residence very irksome to me | Harrison R 198 From the daily reading of the Bible aloud to his mother | Mackenzie C 265 She fell to thinking of her mother tenderly.

9.1₅. As a rule, however, such tertiaries are placed before the gerund: Caxton R 4 a̅ man shal not wyth ones ouer redyng fynde the ryght vnderstandyng | More U 219 throughe much and long iournyenge | Sh John III. 1.11 Thou shalt be punish'd for thus frighting me | BJo A 4.351 The quickly doing of it is the grace | Spectator 217 The well reading of the Common Prayer | Fielding T 2.252 he proposed our immediately drinking a bottle together | ib 3.163 One instance of this

was his greatly magnifying the fortune of his companion | ib 1.250 Mr. Alworthy had strictly forbidden him ever seeing her more | Richardson G 53 he has a turn to the well-managing of it [his estate] | Franklin 9 knowing me by sometimes buying of him | Lamb E 1.184 without my ever offering to pluck them | GE A 289 the possibility of their ever knowing what had happened | Di Do 10 but to think of their some day claiming a sort of relationsahip with Paul! | id OT 215 his throat ... cut ... without his ever knowing it | ib 60 a knack of every now and then giving his head a sudden twist | id F 192 There was so much virtue in this distinctly and decidedly meaning to have it | id N 726 take measures to prevent our ever meeting again | id OT 191 the suddenly dashing past of a carriage [note the article] | Hawthorne 1.468 without his necessarily and at every moment being aware of it | Ruskin P 2.55 the privilege we had in better and better knowing George | id Sel 1.164 nothing distinguishes great men from inferior men more than their always, whether in life or in art, knowing the ways things are going | Mackenzie S 631 It will end in your simply being unhappy | for so doing (very frequent).

Sheffield, Grammar and Thinking, p. 162 says that *their launching the shop promptly* takes from its likeness to ... *they launch the ship promptly* a vividness that is lacking to plain noun and adjective constructions (*the prompt launching of the ship*), and further that *he thought of betting heavily* suggests the act in view as more concretely his than would *he thought of heavy betting*. In my formulas the S^0 in the former would be $= S_1$, in the latter $= S^\infty$.

9.16. The corresponding placing of *not* before the gerund begins according to Blume 43 in the time of Elizabeth, though "noch nicht eben häufig". Examples: Sidney Arc. 1.93 let my not knowing you serve for the excuse of my boldness | ib 68 want of consideration in

not having demanded thus much | AV Deut. 8.11 Beware that thou forget not the lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments | Tobit 4.13 in not taking a wife.

Blume has no examples from Sh. From my own collections I quote Hml III. 2.142 or else shall he suffer not thinking on | Err IV. 1.50 I should haue chid you for not bringing it.

Further examples: Fielding T 2.200 Some danger might attend the not dressing his wound | Austen M 331 able to account for his not yet completely and indubitably seeing all this | Di OT 81 knowing that his not replying would only infuriate the magistrate the more.

9.17. Note the place of *ever:* Aumonier OB 74 there is no record of his ever having lost his temper; cf. 9.1_5.

The use of *often* before a gerund (cp. with other substantives vol. II 12.271, 14.91) was formerly pretty frequent: More U 219 by often assaying the same | Lyly E 67 it behoueth me to ... forge some cause for mine often comming | id C 324 as Demosthenes with often breathing vp the hill amended his stammering | Bacon E 159 by often faylings ... by often prevailings.

With *often* placed between a genitive and the gerund: Swift 3.296 as I found by the stranger's often looking on me.

In recent use it seems to be found only when *often* is expanded as in Darwin E 46 That it is the same movement is clearly shown by their often at the same time taking a bit in their mouths | Carlyle R 1.116 What alone I remember is his often and ever notable preaching in those years.

On *there* with the gerund see below 9.7_9.

Tense.

9.21. The verbal character of the gerund is shown by the development of a perfect: *having*—(and *being*—), see vol. IV 7.8.

Active or Passive.

9.2₂. Like other nexus-substantives (see above 7.7) gerunds were originally indifferent to the distinction between active and passive meaning; accordingly in some contexts they are still understood passively. A passive import is frequently found in Sh, e. g. Hml II. 2.556 Vse euerie man after his desart, and who should scape whipping | Oth IV. 2.45 An instrument of this your calling back | H6A II. 1. 144 If you meane to saue yourselfe from whipping | H4A V. 1.64 our loue durst not come neere your sight For feare of swallowing | Gent II. 1.26 to watch, like one that feares robbing | Tp IV. 211 That's more to me then my wetting | Wiv III. 3.206 excuse his throwing into the water.

See also Al. Schmidt, Sh-lex p. 1418.

Some examples of the double meaning of a gerund have already been given in vol. III 16.8₆, viz. Austen E 40 Harriet only wanted drawing out [pass.], and receiving [act.] a few hints | Brontë W 234 she deserved punishing for punishing me.

9.2₃. A passive sense is particularly frequent after the verbs *need*, *want*, *require*, *deserve*, *bear*, which are combined with an infinitive in the active sense (see 12.3 and 13.1) | Di M 480 That needs no accounting for | Seeley E 220 It does not need proving that . . . | Ruskin T 208 people who needed putting to silence | Shaw 1.179 She dont need looking after | Wells L 128 That she promised—if it needed promising (also Kipling L 97, Gissing R 225; cf. Behn 340 seeing he was ill, and had need of looking after) | Brontë W 227 you want whipping for bringing us in here (also ib 92; P 235) | Di N 118 he wants speaking to | id D 540 | GE Mm 18 to collect documents. They want arranging | ead A 184 I could be looking at your spinning-wheel, and see what wants doing to it | Benson D 105 I want stimulating [= stimulation] | Meredith R 329 women do want ask-

ing [= being asked] | Wells V 218 What you said wanted saying (cf. Bennett RS 77 This will want some putting straight) | Merriman S 225 he is one of those good people who require saving from themselves (also ib 161) | Benson D 139 The rich deserve as much looking after as the poor | Walpole OL 255 I'm so selfish I deserve shooting | Defoe M 204 what will not bear relating | Shaw TT 295 Didnt you know that English politics wont bear thinking about (also Galsw P 6.36, Locke HB 114, Williamson L 48, etc.) | Mannin W 260 none of it would stand saying all over again.

Cf. (with *some*) after *take:* Freeman Th 27 a goods train takes some stopping (= it takes some time to stop ...) | Galsw SS 249 a blue dress ... which must have taken some finding | Masterman WL 165 he's a clever rogue if ever there was one, and he'll take some catching.

9.24. A passive meaning is also found after *worth*, *worthy*, and *past:* the book is well worth reading | Tennyson 548 For nothing worthy proving can be proven, Nor yet disproven | Bennett A 198 The ways of the Almighty are past finding out.

In the following quotations, too, the meaning is passive: Lamb E 1.23 shame for the thing brought, and the manner of its bringing | Mitford OV 87 if they escaped hanging | Mackenzie C 277 her jilting [= being jilted] excited a more than usually diffused curiosity | NP 1921 the unknown writer has a far better chance of hearing [= being heard] if he puts his thoughts into the frame of a story; cf. get, obtain a hearing | Wells T 4 its final putting together was done in Kent | Shaw 1.165 people who are dissatisfied with their own bringing up | Zangwill G 206 How can I help Tom hanging? [= prevent Tom being hanged].

The genitive (poss.) found in some of these may also be taken as expressing the object of the gerund: *her jilting* $S^2G^{a/b} = O^2G$.

The gerund must be taken passively in the combination *in the -ing* (above 8.3_3).

I have in this chapter stuck to the ordinary conception of the gerund as sometimes passive in meaning though neutral in form, but in dealing with infinitives I have deviated from this terminology and preferred speaking of "retroactive" infinitives. If a corresponding term were introduced here we should say that in "who should scape whipping" *who* was at the same time the subject of the sentence and the object of *whipping* conceived retroactively: S(O*) V O(G*). But this analysis seems here unnecessary and much less natural than with the infinitives.

New Passive Gerund.

9.2₅. To avoid ambiguity, however, a new passive gerund developed from about 1600, and now we distinguish "they are fond of teasing" and "they are not fond of being teased". Blume has two early examples of the passive form from Spenser: feare of being shent | Sidney Arc. 1.11 for fear of being mistaken | Hooker: by being unto God united. Mossé, Forme Périphr., p. 148, has some even earlier examples, from Ellis Orig. Lett. (1417), Pecock, etc.

Sh has perhaps only three instances: Err IV. 3.90 a mad tale ... Of his owne doores [pl.] being shut against his entrance | Cy II. 3.134 to be ... hated For being prefer'd so well | Oth I. 3.136 I spake ... of being taken by the insolent foe.

The active and the passive form are used in close contact in BJo 3.72 What is my gold The worse for touching, clothes for being looked on?

9.2₆. This passive is now of everyday usage; literary quotations: Defoe R 73 any notion of the ammunition being destroy'd | ib 155 the greatest deliverances I enjoyed, such as my being taken up by the Portuguese master; my being planted so well in the Brasils | id Pl 25 When I speak of rows of houses being shut up | Swift J 111 a d—ned lie of your chimney being car-

ried to the next house with the wind | Fielding 3.413 the true cause of its being remembred | ib 423 we must avoid being misled by the vulgar estimation (also ib 3.516) | Sterne M 1.159 every beard claimed ... the privileges of being stroken or sworn by | ib 1.110 which ... was the cause of his being taken in the middle of the night out of his bed | Goldsm V 1.3 the better pleased he ever is with being treated | ib 1.5 my wife insisted upon her being called Olivia | Quincey 277 he was three times very near being murdered | Zangwill G 213 the balance of probability is slightly in favour of the true decision being come to | Shaw 2.135 Then she couldnt bear being read to any longer.

9.27. The usefulness of the new form is especially clear in juxtapositions like: Quincey Sel 5 The necessity of loving and being loved | Landor P 64 Indeed to offend any person is the next foolish thing to being offended | Ruskin U 25 the soldier's trade is not slaying, but being slain | Mason R 236 Each for the first time knew the double pride of loving and being loved | Maugham Alt 971 He liked neither reading aloud nor being read aloud to.

9.28. A passive gerund with *getting* (cf. on the passive with *get* vol. IV 8.8) is found in the title of a play by Shaw and in Stevenson M 93 I do not think getting married is worth while | Shaw 1.164 I like working and getting paid for it | Golding SD 17 She didn't *do* these things herself. She managed them into getting done.

9.29. On the perfect passive *having been*—as in Rose Macaulay DA 131 In spite of having been brought up in this creed by parents, Gerda and Kay held to it [Democracy] see vol. IV 7.8(4).

Object after Gerund without *of*.

9.31. The verbal character of the gerund asserts itself further when it becomes possible to add an object to it without any preposition.

A parallel development is found in certain cases in other languages, see for some older Aryan languages Delbrück, Vergl. Syntax I 386 (Sanskrit, Greek, Lat. quid tibi hanc curatiost rem). Here these constructions are rare exceptions, but in Bulgarian and other Slavonic languages the accusative is frequent after nexus-substantives in *-anije* and related endings; in Roumanian similarly (cf. Sandfeld in Tidskr. f. filol. 3. række 115); in Danish the nexus-substantive in *-en* can take an object if the verb and object together express one connected idea as shown by unity stress: denne skiften 'tilstand, hin gören 'gavn, tagen 'del i lykken (examples collected in my Fonetik p. 565), and one may find, though rarely, an object with a substantive in *-ing*, thus the closest parallel to the English construction: en dags gravning klyne (Feilberg, Ordbog over jyske almuesmål I 503).

In English the use of the gerund with a simple object begins in the 14th c. and goes much further than in any of the languages just mentioned, the chief reason being the formal identity of the gerund and the participle. As a secondary reason we may mention influence from French, where we have *en -ant* with an object in exactly the same sense as English *in -ing*.

Early examples of this *in -ing* with an object: LondE 114 in yevyng wityngly noious medicyns to eny man | ib in yevyng, layng, or vsyng eny noious medicyns | ib 97 in eschuyng alle þe mischiefs | Ch B 2787 in getinge richesses, ye mosten flee ydelnesse | Mandv 47 in purchasynge his sustynaunce | Greene J 4 In ripping up their wounds I see their wit.

Einenkel (Anglia vols. 38 and 39) as usual lays much more stress than I should on the French influence; the whole syntactic development of the form *in -ing* would probably have taken much the same course, even if French had had no similar construction. But Einenkel is right in criticizing Curme's interpretation of some interlinear passages in OE.—Blume (p. 12) shows that Wyclif has *of* where a Latin nexus-substantive in *-io* or *-us* is rendered, but no *of* where Latin has a gerund; he therefore thinks that the latter Latin construction has had

great influence on English usage. But a similar vacillation is found in other old texts which were not translations from Latin; these writers simply avail themselves of a liberty found already in the language; and a comparison of the examples warrants the conclusion that there is an inner difference between the two constructions, which is reflected also in the doubleness of the Latin construction. The more substantival the idea is, the greater the tendency to use a substantive in Latin and the *of*-construction in English, and vice versa. But in many instances the substantival and verbal characters are of nearly equal strength.

9.3₂. Both constructions were sometimes used side by side:

Ch I 1055 in knokkinge of thy brest ... in suffringe paciently wronges ... or lesing of worldly catel | id B 2813 in getinge of your richesses and in usinge them | Mandv 19 wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure beardes ... in etynge of bestes | Marlowe J 935—40 for plaguing them ... In setting Christian villages on fire, chaining of eunuches, binding gally-slaues | Sh H4A I. 2.2 Thou art so fat-witted with drinking of old sacke, and vnbuttoning thee after supper | ib II. 1.56 thou variest no more from picking of purses, than giuing direction, doth from labouring | Bacon A 41.14 meanes ... of producing of light ... meanes of seeing obiects a-farr off | Walton A 207 there is more sport in hunting the hare, then in eating of her | Defoe P 56 to the saving of their lives, and restoring their health (also id M 215) | Scott Iv 450 with the burning of a castle,—the thatching of a choir against the robbing of a church, —the setting free a poor prisoner against the murder of a proud sheriff ... against the burning alive of a Norman baron.

9.3₃. The mixed character of the gerund is shown by the possibility of having a simple object even if it is preceded by an adjunct: Bacon A 3.8 the deniale of landing, & hasty warning us away | Congreve 246 he

may press me to the immediate signing the deed | Defoe R 2.169 we observed ... by her frequent lifting up her hands | Austen M 245 her aunt, who was entirely taken up in fresh arranging the fire (cf. however vol. II 15.33) | Thack P 1.237 The very missing her at the coach had something fatal in it | Spencer A 1.264 this continual working-up afresh the old materials into slightly different forms.

This is particularly frequent after *no:* Sh Wiv IV. 2.64 there is no hiding you in the house | BJo 3.41 there is no enjoying this world without thee | Defoe P 36 there was no persuading them.

This is now a settled idiom.

9.34. The object without *of* after the gerund preceded by the definite article is much more frequent than one would expect, as modern native grammarians are unanimous in condemning it. I shall therefore give comparatively many quotations: Caxton R 24 the wythholdyng you fro it can doo yow no good | North 246 in the inuading the territories of the Antiates | Sh Mcb I. 4.8 nothing in his life Became him like the leauing it | Wint III. 2.192 The casting forth to crowes thy baby daughter | Merch I. 2.109 you neede not feare the hauing any of these lords | Meas III. 2.125 for the getting a hundred bastards ... the nursing a thousand | Cymb I. 5.25 and 41 | BJo P V. 3.184 For the receiving so divine a worke | Osborne 85 I cannot beleeve his sermons will doe much toward's the bringing any body to heaven | Otway 165 Could my nature e're Have brook'd injustice or the doing wrongs | Swift 3.215 they would never consent to the enslaving their country (also ib 3.81) | Defoe R 89 in the managing my houshold affairs (frequent in Defoe, e. g. R 140, 199, 247; R 2.234; M 90, 122; D 25) | Spectator 217 There is certainly a very great difference between the reading a prayer and a gazette | Fielding T 1.10 with the finding the little infant | ib 12 for the procuring such an appetite

| ib 191 Master Blifil objected to the sending away the servant | Goldsm V 1.14, 1.21 | Franklin 144 we strictly forbad the selling any liquor to them (also ib 42) | Coleridge B 24 by the telling the half | Byron IV. 226 What else can joy be but the spreading joy? | id DJ 8.3 The drying up a single tear has more Of honest fame, than shedding seas of gore | Shelley Pr 291 the seeing it in print would enable the people at the theatre to judge more easily | Austen M 333 as to the not missing her | Di N 330 one great source of uneasiness ... that was the having nobody by, to whom she could confide it | id D 270 my shaving-water was outside, I felt severely the having no occasion for it | Thack P 695 the reading it [the letter] gave him a strange pang | id N 638 As she felt the greatest regard for him, the showing it was not blamable | Ruskin T 87 in order to the effecting this the government must have an authority | id C 39 the statement of the finding bones in his pocket | id F 188 the leaving them is always pain (also ib 196) | Ward M 216 Add to these ... the snatching him from Mary | Wilde S 149 The industry necessary for the making money is also very demoralising | Butler Er 179 contribute my mite towards the sending two trained missionaries.

9.3₅. Similar examples after the indefinite article and after *this* are not so frequent: Bunyan G 112 this might be termed a calling the people together | Defoe R 114 by a constant reading the scripture | id M 30 he thought this would not be an entire parting us | ib 75 it would be next to an undoing him in the world || Maugham PV 210 I do not like this leaving without a word all those to whom she is dear.

9.3₆. Examples where the gerund is not in itself qualified by adjuncts, etc.: Ch A 2466 I slow Sampsoun in shaking the piler (also ib B 2787, H 67) | Caxton R 68 lyue goostly in kepyng the commandements of our lord | ib 115 subtyller in fynding a remedye | Bale

T 1231 by shedynge Christen blood | ib 1554 for playenge a popysh part | ib 1834 for breakynge his commaundementes | Latimer (Spec. III. xxi. 5) it was of sheddynge bloude (but ib 7—8 frome sheddynge of bloud ... from shedding of bloude) | More U 57 the coste of buyldynge them anew (also ib 93, 99, 199, 201, 219, 248, 250) | Marlowe F 1879 Both come from drawing Faustus latest will | Greene F 8.120 in subduing fancy's passion | Sh Merch III. 4.38 in conuerting Iewes to Christians, you raise the price of porke (cp. ib 25 this making of Christians will raise the price of hogs) | AV Ec 12.12 of making many bookes there is no end.

9.37. The gerund doubly asserts its verbal nature if it is preceded by an adverb and followed by an object without *of:* Fielding T 2.252 he proposed our immediately drinking a bottle together | Austen S 84 on her mother's silently pressing her hand | Shelley PW 2.378 against the coercively repressing any opinion | Di N 500 the result ... from her incautiously displaying her matured charms.

9.38. Examples of indirect objects after a gerund: More U 32 for teachynge them the feate and vse of the lode stone | Sh Merch IV. 1.341 I thanke thee Iew for teaching me that word | R2 III. 4.100 for telling me this newes of woe | H6C I. 2.13 By giuing the House of Lancaster leaue to breathe | Darwin L 1.101 Music generally sets me thinking ... instead of giving me pleasure.

To may, of course, always be used, as already in Ch C 587 Of wyn-geving to hem that han justise.

9.39. The object of a gerund may be a simple nexus; thus after *the:* Defoe R 140 the operations necessary for the making the corn fit | Thack S 146 Every encouragement should be given to the rendering their spare time disagreeable | Gibbon M 202 I dare not boast the making Dr. Watson a bishop.

Without *the:* Sh Wint I. 2.288 wishing clocks more

swift | the possibility of appointing him inspector | his idea of making his wife happy.

The object may be an infinitival nexus: Sidney Arc. (q) without hearing him speak | Marlowe F 759 I am leane with seeing others eat—
or a clause: he delighted us by proving that John was right.

9.3₁₀. A predicative after the gerund is very frequent indeed (cf. also the passive: for being punished, etc. 9.2_5); examples: More U 84 in a standing reddie at all occasions | Defoe G 9 from the being subject to an inferiour schoolmaster | Shelley 289 the just, whom thy slaves hate for being like to thee | instead of proving an advantage this was found an encumbrance.

Subject of the ing not in the Genitive (Possessive).

9.4₁. In SPE Tract 25 (1926) I dealt with the construction found, e. g., in the stock example given in NED and many grammars: "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing" (Thack); I showed that the construction began to be frequent about 1700, and explained how a variety of circumstances, formal and syntactical, in English grammar brought about this innovation.

My article called forth an article from W. van der Gaaf (English Studies vol. 10, p. 9 ff., 1928), in which the learned author tries to make out that the construction is much older than I had supposed and was due to OF constructions. There may be some truth in the assertion that ME "þe sonne rising, þe sonne going down" is due to OF "le soleil levant, le soleil colchant" (and even here ME *sonne* may be the old genitive); but otherwise I do not think van der Gaaf has made good his assertion. The rare occurrence in Malory (only one example, see A. Dekker, The Syntax of Malory's Morte Darthur, p. 158) speaks against him. A critical examination of his quotations shows that too many of them allow of a different interpretation: the form before the ing in many of them is an old genitive

without *s* (sg: *quene, fader*, pl: *children; st* instead of *sts: goost, Crist*). In not a few cases the ing is not a gerund, but a participial adjunct (betokenes men mysse-belevyng and dredyng). In some we have compounds or groups similar to those mentioned below (9.5). Sometimes two of these explanations can be applied to the same quotation. I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining the substance of my old view though the date I gave should perhaps be put somewhat back.

The modern construction can without any difficulty be explained as a natural native development: there is no need to think of foreign influence. It is thoroughly characteristic of ModE and has no parallel in French or any other language: it is nothing but a consummation of the development of the ing as traced in these chapters. What has happened is simply this: the construction of the ing has approached that of verbs in one more point. Parallel to the construction with a finite verb S V O without any genitive or preposition for S or for O, we had already G O and now we get also S G without any preposition or any genitive mark attached to S. But the old construction S^2 G (S^2 = genitive of substantive, possessive of pronoun) still retains much of its old force and to some extent keeps the new construction within bounds.

U. Lindelöf in Neuphilol. Mitteil. 1933 nos. 1/2 gives statistics of the use of genitive, possessive and common case with ing.

Among the circumstances that have contributed to the change of construction the following may be here mentioned:

(1) Sometimes it is immaterial to the meaning whether an ing is interpreted as a gerund or as a participle; these cases will be dealt with at the end of this chapter "Grammatical Analysis".

(2) The formal identity of some common cases and genitives as also the oblique and the possessive *her* (9.4_2, 4_3, 4_4).

(3) The impossibility of forming a genitive or possessive of some pronouns (9.4_5).

(4) The difficulty of forming genitives of some groups of words (9.5).

Formal Identity of the Two Cases.

9.4₂. In some cases it is impossible to hear whether the subject is in the genitive or in the common case. In ME this was true with some of the old genitives which have since been given up: *quene*, *fader*, pl. *children*, see above 9.4_1. In ModE we have the frequent cases of plurals in *-s*: whenever this was used as the subject before a gerund, it was impossible to tell which case it was put in, and this of course contributed very strongly to strengthen the feeling that a common case might be used as the subject of a gerund. The practice of writing *kings* (nom.) and *kings'* (gen.) and of distinguishing both from *king's* (gen. sing.) was not in common use till the eighteenth century. The following forms in Shakespeare should probably be taken as genitive plurals: H4A I. 3.49 I then, all-smarting, with my wounds being cold | R2 V. 2.3 breake the story off, Of our two cousins comming into London | Err IV. 3.90 a mad tale ... Of his owne doores being shut against his entrance (the following line shows that *doors* is a plural) | Tw II. 3.44 Journeys end in louers meeting.

In the following examples no apostrophe was printed in the editions used, and the printers thus took them to be in the common case: Spectator 143 his opinion of ghosts appearing in places of burial | Swift J 61 God be thanked for Stella's eyes mending | Austen P 75 she had calculated on her daughters remaining at N. | Di D 475 the propriety of chambers being inhabited by the gentler sex | ib 744 from the first moment of her dark eyes resting on me | id OT 41 on the very next occasion of his services being required | Thack P

124 I don't wonder at the young fellows raving about her | Bennett B 44 The rule against visitors entering this bureau is frightfully strict | ib 104 You will not object to the detectives looking through your rooms?

9.43. The same applies, though in a lesser degree, to the singular of words (proper names) ending in *s*, where there is a tendency to use an unchanged genitive (cf. *Phoebus' car*); no apostrophe was found in the following sentences: Fielding F 3.210 satisfied by Jones having owned himself in the wrong | Austen M 160 at the very moment of Yates perceiving Sir Thomas | Di N 302 on Nicholas receiving this intelligence | Shaw 2.126 This comes of James teaching me to think for myself.

Perhaps we may place here the instances of *her grace* adduced by van der Gaaf; and similarly his example of *þe Hooli Goost halowing* and similar ones with *-st*.

9.44. In the pronoun *her* there is no formal distinction between the possessive and the oblique case; either interpretation is therefore possible in instances like these, which might be multiplied infinitely: Sh Err I. 1.48 [she] Had made provision for her following me | Cymb III. 5.46 She pray'd me to excuse her keeping close | Spectator 143 the great danger of her falling in love when she is about threescore | Di Do 368 the expediency of her immediately altering her conduct.

In all these instances there is thus no *formal* distinction between SG and S^2G.

No Genitive Available.

9.45. Several words, chiefly pronominal, can form no genitive, but are not on that account excluded from being used as the subject of a gerund. English writers do not scruple to use combinations like the following: Fielding T 1.98 he had every day a chance of *this* happening | Austen M 323 when I think of this being the last time of seeing you ||

Di Do 525 he wouldn't hear of *that* being possible ||
Fielding 3.427 his promise, *which* she might depend on being performed | Lamb E 1.23 These few acquaintances of theirs, which they could reckon upon being kind to me ||
Austen M 195 it is *what* you must not depend on ever being repeated | Christie Cards 254 her insistence on what she had decided being carried out ||
Sh Mcb I. 3.44 you [the witches] seeme to vnderstand me, By *each* at once her choppie finger laying Vpon her skinnie lips | Ru S 107 the happiness of both [sexes] depends on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give ||
Ridge L 197 he thwarted her intent by *himself* stepping up into the dogcart | Lecky D 1.89 each will support the Bill of the others on condition of himself receiving the same assistance ||
Di D 17 I recollect *two* [= two of her buttons] bursting to the other side of the parlour | Hope Z 119 besides the fact of those three being there, the drawbridge is kept up ||
Hughes T 1.115 to the no small risk of *both* falling out of the blanket ||
GE L 1.261 Do have pity on me ... by *all* sending me a scrap.

Nor is any genitive possible of adjectives used in the plural as primaries: Swift J 392 we are mortified at the news of *the French* taking the town from the Portuguese | Wordsw P 9.135 no fear had they of *bad* becoming worse | Thack P 125 I am not surprised at *young or old* falling in love with her.

Groups.

9.51. It is true that we find pretty often an *s* as the genitive mark added to whole groups of words as if they were one unit and as if the *s* were a kind of "inter-

position" serving to connect two units (see Progr. ch. VIII = ChEngl ch. III). Still such constructions are often felt to be awkward except when the group forms one definite notional unit; thus before an ing the feeling of a subject relation generally prevails over the grammatical tendency to use the genitive.

Hence we find, e. g., Sterne M 2.341 to cut us off from every idea of the lady and the maid lying together | Scott A 1.126 the danger of the chair and its occupant being dashed against the rugged face of the precipice | Thack N 255 He would not hear of Mrs. Mackenzie and her daughter quitting his house | id P 3.211 when we talk of this man and that woman being no longer the same person | Morris N 166 Dick took the opportunity of both the host and his grand-daughter being out of the room | Mackenzie C 47 it was due to her father and mother being married. (Here it would be decidedly awkward to put either *mother* alone or both *father* and *mother* in the genitive).

9.5₂. The difficulty is even greater if one of the words joined in this way is a personal pronoun.

The combination of a genitive and a possessive is rare: Sh Wiv V. 3.16 at the very instant of Falstaffes and our meeting.—Should we say 'laughing at Sir John Walter's and my falling out' or 'at Sir John Walter and my falling out'? Swift cuts the knot by writing J 309 'laughing at Sir John Walter and me falling out', and he has many successors: Di P 519 you ought to feel very much honoured at you and Tommy being the only gentlemen to escort so many ladies | id D 32 I listened to the women's going to bed in another crib, and to him and Ham hanging up two hammocks for themselves | Wilde Im 40 I don't think there is much likelihood of you and Miss Fairfax being united | Hardy T 150 what is the good of mother and me economising? | Doyle M 59 some remark about my patient and me being well qualified to keep each other company.

In the following two examples of two personal pronouns combined it must be admitted that neither *mine* nor *my*, neither *your* nor *yours* would be natural: Kipling L 246 we were talking about getting away. Me and you getting away | Doyle F 123 there is the less fear of you and me finding one.

9.5₃. With prepositional groups the formation of a genitive in *s* would in all cases be awkward and in some cases lead to misunderstandings, consequently the whole group is placed uninflected before the gerund as in Boswell 1.246 the cause of some part of mankind being black | Scott A 1.247 what chance is there of ony body in Fairport looking in upon him now? | Quincey 338 How could public justice be pacified by a female cousin of the deceased man engaging to love, honour, and obey the clerk? | Brontë P 196 upon my application for her address being refused, I had resigned my own post | Carlyle H 67 it consists in the heart and soul of the man never having been open to Truth | Thack V 270 there could be no harm in a lady of rank taking notice of a poor gentleman | Locke GP 141 If I hadn't insisted on the money for the picture and the horses being paid into my private banking account.

9.5₄. Special difficulties arise with such groups as *either of us:* Wordsw (MM) 214 without either of us knowing that the other had taken up the subject | Ruskin F 133 nor the slightest chance of any of them going in rags | Benson D 157 there was no need of both of them making a journey | Bennett ECh 301 He had no objection to some of them listening.

9.5₅. There are other groups to which it would be equally difficult to add the genitive-mark *s*. There can be hardly any misunderstanding if the group is comparatively short as in Boswell 1.33 This instance of a mind such as that of Johnson being first disposed ... | Mackenzie C 117 she felt the pity of a nice girl like Edie being driven into a hasty marriage. On the other

hand one sometimes finds clumsy long constructions, which certainly do not deserve to be imitated: Di D 524 the Commons was even scandalized by our principal inveigler (who had formerly been in the wine trade, and afterwards in the sworn brokery line) walking about with a black eye | GE Mm 123 there must always be some supposition of falling in love coming between her and any man who is kind to her | Ruskin C 200 our gaining in riches depends on the men who are out of employment consenting to be starved | Zangwill G 203 Nor was there anything impossible in ... a working girl deeming herself deserted, temporarily succumbing to the fascination of a gentleman | Di D 527 a feeling of what we are saying and doing having been said and done before.

In the Zangwill quotation *working* and *deeming* are ordinary participial adjuncts, and *succumbing* comes limpingly behind them; in the last passage it would certainly have been better to say 'a feeling that what we are saying and doing has been said and done before'.

Apposition.

9.5₆. There is a general tendency to use the common case in apposition to a genitive, as seen in Sh H4A II. 4.114 I am not yet of Percies mind, the Hotspurre of the North. We see this with à gerund in Mackenzie RR 43 As a prophylactic against his two daughters', Lettice and Pamela, ever reaching the condition; but more often in combinations with *all* and *both*, the more so as it is impossible to form the genitive *all's* or *both's* (above 9.4₅). Hence we have Fielding T 3.71 It cannot be wondered at that their retiring all to sleep at so unusual an hour should excite his curiosity | Austen P 168 the assurance of their being all settled in London for the winter | Meredith R 251 won't it be pleasant, our being all in town together in the season—and with

a different word-order Sheridan 56 The confusion that might arise from our both addressing the same lady | Austen M 29 assurances of their both being alive | Di D 133 Em'ly was confused by our all observing her | Hope C 201 what is the good of our both cutting her? | Di T 2.96 the crowning unreality was their all at once rising to receive him | Austen S 260 the storm may be weathered without our being, any of us, quite overcome.

Cf. below (9.7_4) on *you all*, etc.

A similar case is Sterne M 1.287 without Phutatorius's perceiving it, or any one else at that time.

A rarer case of apposition is Rose Macaulay O 291 the Lord alone knows how. Rosamond reflected that the Lord's alone knowing would not help them very much.—But: the chance of his doing it alone—is quite normal.

9.57. A genitive in *s* is also avoided in the case of long strings like the following:

Thack V 117 you wonder at one so poor and friendless having an attachment | Pater P 47 at the thought of a man, a while since so strong, turning his face to the wall.

Common Case as Subject of Gerund.

9.61. As the final result of the whole development we find the modern tendency to use another case than the genitive as the subject of a gerund, thus the common case of substantives and some pronouns, and the oblique case, or even the nominative, of personal pronouns.

First with substantives that do not denote living beings: this agrees with the tendency of the language to avoid the genitive in such cases—and the *of*-construction is generally out of the question before an ing (cf. above 8.5_5):

Swift J 111 that's a d—ned lie of your chimney being carried to the next house with the wind | Defoe

Rox 227 I had told him so much of a married state being a captivity and the family being a house of bondage | Fielding T 4.141 the least apprehension of any harm happening to her | Boswell 2.70 the evil of too much land being locked up | Scott Iv 492 without one blow being struck in her behalf | Quincey 215 no man ever heard of opium leading into delirium tremens | Di OT 329 in consequence of his nose not being large enough for the purpose | id Do 373 he arranged for a carriage being sent after him | GE Mm 197 surprised at her beauty being made so much of | Poe 100 in the event of a breeze springing up | Doyle S 5.205 there is a chance of some record being left | Maugham TL 267 I think I'll take advantage of the rain stopping to go out.

9.62. Next substantives denoting living beings:

Swift J 371 she sighed when we reflected on the Somerset family not being out | Defoe Pl 19 I was further confirmed in it by the woman being taken ill (very frequent in Defoe) | Fielding T 4.102 Lady Bellaston, who was ignorant of any other woman being there but herself | Sterne 41 to think of a man living to our age, and knowing so little about women! | Goldsmith V 1.173 instead of my daughter testifying any impatience, she seemed to retain a pensive tranquillity | Boswell 1.154 the ancient Jewish mode of a wife having children borne to her upon her knees (very frequent in Boswell) | Scott Iv 61 surprised at his ward appearing in public | Shelley L 736 I have no objection to the author being known | Keats 4.56 on account of my sister being in town | Di N 255 the chances of the disconsolate widower bestowing his hand on her daughter | Thack N 750 there is nothing ridiculous in an English gentleman entertaining feelings of loyalty | GE S 238 the idea of her mother having had a husband presented itself to her | Ruskin Sel 1.459 the suffering arises simply from the people not understanding this truism

| Collins M 64 it ended in the doctor being sent for | Trollope O 231 The idea of Mrs. Baggett going away with her husband | McCarthy 2.46 in consequence of the Shah having marched an army into Herat | Hardy T 30 it would lead to some noble gentleman marrying her | Doyle S 2.278 when there was a chance of a husband coming forward | Caine C 55 to protest against Glory going in her company was to protest against Glory going at all | Wilde D 101 you can talk to me of other women being charming, and of Patti singing divinely | Pinero S 118 this accounts for Aubrey not hearing from Paris lately | Wells L 30 a dread of some casual boy coming upon them | Chesterton F 270 what is the good in a man being honest in his worship of dishonesty | Galsw F 396 she would never get stout, as there was every danger of Clara doing | Bennett P 208 no chance of the lady coming back | Locke GP 83 [the flower was] Certainly not worth a man endangering his life.

9.63. Sometimes the existence of an adverb between the subject and the ing seems to favour the use of the common case: it would be difficult to use the genitive in Wells Ma 2.122 She liked to think of Trafford very rapidly and easily coming forward into a position of cardinal significance.

Two genitives following each other are generally avoided, hence Quincey 373 the fact was notorious of Acosta's wife being the object of a criminal pursuit | Shaw J 128 There ought to be a law against a man's sister ever entering his house after he's married.

9.64. The tendency to use this common case construction seems to be stronger when the whole idea is vague than when it is definite; thus when the subject is indefinite (*a man*, *people*, etc.), and after such words as *the possibility* (*chance*, *probability*, etc.). This is not unnatural, for the genitive in most instances has a defining character (Mrs. B.'s husband = *the* husband of Mrs. B.), but it can by no means be considered an

established rule, as we often find the common case used in such definite statements as Di Do 417 the fact of Miss Dombey being at that moment under his roof.

9.6₅. After *on* the similarity in meaning to the construction that is generally called 'absolute', and which I term 'nexus tertiary' (see ch. VI) with the first participle, may have favoured the use of the common case: 'On the door being opened she perceived a couch' (Hardy R 41) is equivalent to 'The door being opened'. Goldsmith still has the genitive in V 1.23 Upon the landlord's leaving the room, I could not avoid ...'; but nowadays most writers prefer the common case after this temporal *on:*

Di Do 101 On Paul replying 'Yes, ma'am', Miss Bimber said 'Come in' | Swinburne L 159 On a servant addressing him yesterday by his title, he actually sank into a chair | Ridge L 38 On Tommy presenting her with a glass marble, she promptly tried to swallow it.

9.6₆. With an indefinite pronoun the common case construction is now the general rule, and *anybody's* as in the first quotation would now hardly be natural: Defoe R 2.66 he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island || Fielding 3.476 he marched out of the room without making any excuse, or any one daring to make the least demand | Hope F 54 He allowed few things to surprise him, but the fact of any one deliberately starting by the early train was one of the few | Shaw Ms 78 the correct thing depends for its success on everybody playing the game very strictly.

No one could hardly be made into *no one's* in 'He insists on no one knowing about the experiment'.

Thus also with *neither, the former, the latter,* though here a genitive in *'s* is sometimes found: Fielding T 2.168 He commended them for their resolution, in neither giving up the point | Thack V 191 by the former declaring | ib 454 by the latter pointing out to him.

Personal Pronouns.

9.71. The first oblique case to be used with ing instead of the possessive is *it*, which is found in isolated examples as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, but *its* has never ceased to be the form most frequently used. Examples:

Defoe R 103 I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God | ib 207 the least supposition of it being possible | Austen M 332 he had no doubt of it being highly agreeable to Fanny | Shaw Ms 31 All I listen for is some sign of it ending in something | Bentley T 338 I was prepared for it happening | Locke HB 309 the fact of it being written made his lot none the less damnable.

Cf. this passage, in which *it* is stressed (while *its* in the same position would be weak): Di D 70 She sat screening the fire as if she were sedulously keeping it warm, instead of it keeping her warm.

9.72. The use of the oblique case of the other personal pronouns in connexion with an ing did not begin so early: I have only three examples from the first half of the nineteenth century; and it is only in the youngest generation of writers that this use begins to be at all frequent. Nearly all theorists look upon it as incorrect, vulgar and ugly. The NED is more liberal; it writes: "Even a pronoun standing before the gerund is put in the objective, in dialect speech; and, when the pronoun is emphatic, this is common in ordinary colloquial English". In my quotations the pronoun is not always distinctly emphatic.

Examples: Keats 5.158 Do not send any more of my books home. I have a great pleasure in the thought of you looking on them | Hazlitt A 121 there could be no harm in them walking together | Brontë W 205 I'm so afraid of you being angry | Poe S 226 is that any reason for you letting the birds burn? | Trollope Aut

315 I had no objection to them doing so | Doyle G 46 as for her not being free, or you being more to her than a friend, it was foolish talk | Philips B 168 Young men are so exaggerated that one lives in a perpetual danger of them making one a scene | Kipling L 238 to think of me kissing Mr. H. after all he's done to me | Bennett C 2.79 you say nothing about us calling | id Imp Pal 531 I'll come down ... That will be better than you coming up here [Bennett is very fond of this construction] | Ridge B 135 There's a talk of him getting a knighthood shortly | Mackenzie C 443 I set my heart on you coming out to Spain | Aumonier OB 215 What on earth is the good of me talking to a child like you | Kaye Smith HA 220 And as for him not having taste ... it doesn't matter | Maxwell WF 71 Fancy you having noticed it | Maugham Pl 2.73 That's the advantage of you being a doctor.

Emphasis on the pronoun is especially clear in the following quotations; in the first, for instance, 'Fancy my being' would be read with weakly stressed *my*, whereas *me* would be strongly stressed as it stands: Benson D 2.22 Fancy me being as old as any two of you | Galsw IPh 10 I'm not afraid of *you* [italics in the text] misunderstanding me | Bennett H 16 Instead of me talking to you, you ought to be talking to me | id W 2.71 it's a question of you starving as well as me.

9.73. I select two dialect quotations: Maclaren A 33 there's nae fear o' him buying his lease wi' his kirk | Barrie W 89 I wondered at 'im neither runnin' awa nor comin' forrit.

9.74. The oblique case is inevitable if the pronoun is followed by an apposition:

Bennett LR 351 What were the chances of him, Sam, getting back to work? | id Imp Pal 89 there would have been something improper in him, Director of the Imperial Palace, deity of thirteen hundred employees, disporting himself on the Palace floor.—Cf. especially Wal-

pole Jeremy 70 I hate you children chattering | Maugham Alt 1485 Can I count on you all holding your tongues? | Wilder H 221 What good is it you two being married if you don't love each other?

Nominative.

9.7₅. In some cases even the nominative of a personal pronoun is found as subject of an ing.

Sometimes this is due to confusion with the nexus-tertiary construction ("absolute construction"), in which the nominative is required: Swift J 240 it put me in mind of the Dean and Stoyte, and Walls, and Stella at play, and Dingley and I looking on | Brontë V 227 Fancy us holding him tight down in the carriage, and he raving between us, fit to drive everybody delirious | Di D 420 remember a great wail and cry, and the other women hanging about him, and we all standing in the room; I with a paper in my hand | Wells TB 1.189 I imagined myself delivering them to her—and she, goddess-like and beautiful, giving her fine judgment | Shaw Ms 133 this is a good scene, with you on your lonely watch, and I approaching like a ghost in the moonlight | Deeping RR 127 She had a sense of strangeness ... with Christopher lying in her bed, and she watching him in the intimate silence.

9.7₆. Sometimes, there is no such confusion, but the nominative is due to the same difficulty in combinations with *and* which was mentioned above 9.5₂: Di D 21 I recollect Peggotty and I peeping out at them from my little window | Fox M 2.178 this refers to her brother's health being delicate, and he and his wife having to leave their children and go abroad | Lewis MA 161 Do you ever hear your mother and I scrapping and fussing like that? | Mannin W 202 But there was no harm, surely, in she and Richard having a friendly drink together occasionally? || Shaw TT 112 that's a

very different thing from killing a man because he's a German and he killing you because you're an Englishman.

In all these there will be felt some awkwardness in the construction if we try to substitute the genitive and possessive.

9.7₇. The nominative seems quite natural if an ing is understood from what precedes; if the ing had been repeated we should probably have found the possessive used:

Scott (Lockhart 578) many other points of difference; besides his being an Irishman, I a Scotchman, and both tolerably national | Dreiser F 310 We reached the place where the fact of the shop's being a ship and the engineer the captain, and I the mate, and the smith the bos'n came to be a matter of general knowledge | Vambéry My Struggles 93 without my interfering with their sleep or they with my reading | Berkeley Vane Mystery 208 That would be a motive for her murdering him, not he her.

9.7₈. In a similar way, the nominative is found sometimes after *instead of*, because this phrase in some respects does duty as a conjunction (cf. Benson J 162 when I paint a picture, you think the net result is I and a picture, instead of I alone). I once heard some one in speaking of Bishop Colenso say, 'Instead of he converting the Zulus, the Zulu chief converted him'. See also Doyle Strand Mag. Dec. 94. 571 I should be his prisoner instead of he being mine.

Here, too, emphasis makes the nominative seem preferable to the possessive.

There.

9.7₉. An ing may be preceded by *there* ("existential *there*") as a 'sham-subject', Symbol s/3 (cf. there was light | let there be light). I have only two quotations

before the 19th c.: Defoe M 58 the supposition of there being such choice to be had | Butler Anal. Rel. 6 objections ... against there being any such moral plan. From later writers: Austen M 80 a doubt of there being time enough | ib 320 he recommended there being nothing more said to her | Carlyle S 37 this same fact of there being Tailors | Di P 343 he denies there being any ground or pretence whatever for the action | id Do 105 an impartial remembrance of there being two sides to every question | Kipling J 1.145 no one would have dreamed of there being such a place | Ruskin S 35 awaking to the fact of there being a God | Shaw C 168 an angel ... I believe it's all gammon about there being any in heaven | Walpole RH 251 if it hadn't been for there being so many of us | Priestley G 84 I was wrong about there being only two smells here | Benson DB 34 this might account for there being something rather odd about Bags.

The Ing-Nexus Itself the Subject of a Sentence.

9.81. In the cases considered so far the ing-nexus was either the object or governed by a preposition. But it may also be the subject of a sentence. This offers no difficulty if the genitive or possessive is used:

Sophia's having seen them did not greatly surprise us | James TM 26 Her thus turning her back on me was fortunately not a snub.—The analysis is $S(S^2{}_2G)$ V ...

9.82. Very frequently, however, a substantive is put in the common case, as it is felt to be the subject itself (though more correctly it is only part of the subject). In one or two of the following quotations one may feel inclined to take the ing as a participle.

Bunyan G 105 But the constable coming in prevented us | Swift J 367 That odious grandmother living so

long, forced her to retire [i. e. the fact that the g. lived] | Fielding T 1.198 And is a wench having a bastard all your news? | Goldsm V 1.162 The 'Squire's portrait being found united with ours, was an honour too great to escape envy | Keats 5.187 a person I am not quite used to entering the room half choaks me | Austen M 77 A whole family assembling regularly for the purpose of prayer is fine | Huxley L 1.73 Parliament breaking up immediately after gave the officials a good excuse for doing nothing more | Phillpotts M 42 The girl throwing him over has been a hard stroke | Shaw D 3 is the lady bothering you any reason for you to come bothering me? | Bentley T 27 The body not being robbed looks interesting.

9.83. In the following interesting examples the verb-form (*causes*, not *cause*, etc.) shows that the writers really took the whole nexus as the subject of the verb, even in spite of the fact that the second quotation contains the nominative *I:*

Swift J 493 I avoided him ... my reasons are, that people seeing me speak to him causes a great deal of teasing | Spectator 394 I having a great esteem for your honour and a better opinion of you than any of the quality, makes me acquaint you of an affair that I hope will oblige you to know | Keats 5.81 I am quite well. You going out is no proof that you are | Harris Shaw 34 Two old men dealing with such a young theme, in which at best their interest could not have been more than academic, seems funny to me on reflection.

In the following quotation we have the nominative *they*, but the form of the verb is indifferent: Austen S 120 They being her relations, too, made it so much the worse.

9.84. In recent half-vulgar speech *me* and *him* are found in this construction: Bennett PL 178 What pleased them far more than anything was me knowing them by their Christian names | id Acc 137 That,

and me saying I'd flown from Paris, and—oh!—the usual arrangement in the end did it | Priestley F 329 No good me going back even if I wanted to, is it? | Hammett Th 252 Him hanging around like this, just messing things up, don't fit in anywheres that I can see.

9.85. If the ing-nexus as the real subject of a sentence is preceded by a preparatory *it* as the "lesser" subject, the possessive is still perfectly natural: Hughes T 2.52 it can surely make no difference, their being poor men | Darwin L 2.149 what a relief it has been your looking over this chapter | Meredith H 110 it's the oddest thing in the world our meeting like this | Doyle St 133 It was the merest chance my taking these pills || Di N 636 it's no use her listening at keyholes | Doyle S 1.67 it is no use your applying if your hair is light red | Ward R 1.113 it will be no good my trying for a fellowship.

9.86. The common case is here by no means infrequent: Di P 187 It was of no use a little man like Nathaniel Pipkin pulling the door inwards, when a great strong fellow like old Lobbs was pulling it outwards | Merrick C 227 It's such a nuisance everything being shut to-day | Kaye Smith GA 131 After all, it was very strange, Bob going out so much like that | Walpole Cp 418 it seems so funny any one being frightened of me ... I meant that any one being frightened of me was ridiculous.

Note the form of the verb in Defoe R 2.145 it is not your men being protestants that discharges me | Christie Big Four 20 it is both windows being open that strikes me as curious.

9.87. With pronouns we find both cases (nom. and oblique) used here, the latter however chiefly in vulgar speech, which here as elsewhere, tends to use the oblique in many combinations where educated speech has the nominative. *You* of course may be either case:

Shaw P 170 it is no use you coming to Cleopatra |

Bennett HL 342 it's no use him pretending he doesn't (extremely frequent in Bennett with *me*, etc.) | Galsw F 408 'Tis no use him frettin' over me | Phillpotts GR 40 [educated man speaking:] But it's different me going and you going | Kaye Smith HA 215 it seems so dreadful us marrying on the quiet | Kennedy CN 68 It's no use us going up till Tony's quiet | Waugh BM 105 Do you think it's any use me trying to vamp him? | Priestley G 594 It's no use him wiring back to me.

The possessive and *you* are found together in Beaconsfield L 200 "It was very nice your asking us first and alone," said the Duchess. "It was very nice you coming, dear Duchess" | Shaw M 204 it's not quite the same thing my knowing her and you knowing her.

In the following quotations we see the difficulty already mentioned when two pronouns are to be combined with the same ing: Galsw FM 94 It's so queer you and he being brothers | Aumonier OB 9 Doesn't it seem rum, you and I sitting here to-night after all these years?

No Subject Expressed.

9.8s. Very often a gerund stands alone without any subject, but as in other nexuses (nexus-substantives, infinitives, etc.) the connexion of a subject with the verbal idea is always implied.

Very often the understood subject is the generic person (= F *on*): $S^0\infty$, thus Complimenting is lying | I hate lying | Shaw TT 72 nothing succeeds like lying.

In most cases the understood subject is the subject of the whole sentence: I remember seeing the King; thus after prepositions: *on* (*before*, *after*) leaving he ... | Caine S 2.37 On Tuesday morning Robbie lost no time in making inquiries, but he wasted several hours in ascertaining particulars.

In other cases it will be the object of the whole sent-

ence: they punished him for lying; cf. Di N 64 Talking of the baron's ancestor puts me in mind of the baron's great claims to respect | He felt indignant with his father for cutting him off with a shilling | The pain in my throat made speaking difficult.

After a passive verb the S^0 will often be like the subject of the corresponding active sentence: the day was *spent in packing*.

Similarly there can be no question of who is meant as S^0 in Thack P 1.29 As for going himself, that was quite out of the question.

Sometimes the use of the definite article will make a difference: Reading aloud was a great exertion to him | Darwin L 122 The reading aloud often sent him to sleep [i. e. reading done by others].

The substantival character of the gerund is shown here by *the*. This is also clear in the difference between the following sentences, in which the subject in A is different from, but in B is identical with the subject of the whole sentence; in A, but not in B the object is preceded by *of*.

A: Before the building of this bridge a dispute arose between the town and the engineer | After the building of this bridge a dispute arose ...

B: Before building this bridge the engineer lived in London | After building this bridge the engineer lived ...

But note that to A During the building of this bridge a dispute arose, etc., corresponds B While building this bridge the engineer lived here: here *building* is not the gerund, but the present participle.

Building in A corresponds to *construction*, in B to *constructing*.

9.8₉. Through what purists may consider an inexact construction the understood subject is not the grammatical subject of the sentence but the natural agent of the action concerned: Thack N 87 By pushing steadily,

nine hundred and ninety-nine people in a thousand will yield to you [= if you push . . .] | ib 493 After calling thrice, and writing to Miss Newcome, there came a little note from that young lady [= after he had . . .] | Poe S 160 Upon arriving within fifty feet of the bottom, a perfect regularity commenced.

The following examples seem more inexcusable:

Goldsm 663 By coming close to some women they look younger still | Franklin 144 On taking [i. e. my t.] my seat in the House, my son was appointed their clerk | Hardy F 143 On inquiring for her at the house they had told him she was at the sheep-washing | Doyle Sh 6.121 the maid thought that he was already dead, but on pouring some water from the carafe over his forehead he opened his eyes.

Cf. the "loose participle" below 22.2_7.

Grammatical Analysis.

9.91. The question how to analyze combinations like "on Miss Sharp appearing" has been variously answered. Most grammars, at any rate school grammars, take *appearing* as the (present) participle, while in "on Miss Sharp's appearing" they would speak of a verbal substantive or gerund; sometimes a distinction is made between verbal substantive and gerund, and the term "half-gerund" is even introduced by some writers. Kruisinga avoids the terms "participle" and "gerund" and speaks everywhere of "the verbal ing".

As already hinted in 8.1_1, the best plan is to recognize the formal identity of the words derived by means of the same ending, and to use the term ing as comprehending two syntactically distinct things:

(1) a gerund, parallel to, though syntactically different from, other nexus-substantives, but like them *denoting* a nexus,—symbol G—, and

(2) a (first) participle, which does not denote but

implies a nexus and is therefore on a par with agent-substantives,—symbol Y.

We have (1) in "we praised her graceful dancing" and "we praised her for dancing gracefully"; cp, (graceful) *dance*—and (2) in "a dancing girl" and "a girl dancing gracefully appeared"; cp. (graceful) *dancer*.

Dancing in (1) means 'the fact that (she) dances', or 'the way in which (she) dances'; in (2) 'who dances'.

Stealing, *creating*, *assisting* are analogous with (1) the nexus-substantives *theft*, *creation*, *assistance*: O, and (2) with the agent-substantives *thief*, *creator*, *assistant*: Y.

This distinction seems logical enough, though we have seen cases in which it was not easy to carry it through (8.6_3).

9.9₂. If we apply this test, we see that the ing in the sentences exemplified in sections 9.6—9.8 after a common case or a pronoun that is not possessive is not a participle. If it had been, we should have expected the corresponding construction with the second (passive) participle, thus *I insist upon the cloth removed*, but as a matter of fact only *I insist upon the cloth being removed* is said.

If it had been a real participle, we should expect the construction to be equally frequent with all kinds of substantives and with pronouns, and we should also expect some clear distinction between the construction with the common case and that with the genitive; but as a matter of fact we find the construction much more often with substantives denoting things than with names of persons, and much more often with substantives than with pronouns. Many authors who do not scruple to use the common case in substantives always prefer the possessive in pronouns, (I insist on his appearing), see, e. g. Kipling MOP 198 I can understand an Afghan stealing, because he is made that way. But I can't understand his crying. See also the perfect parallelism in Di D 588:

A dream of *their* coming in with Dora; of *the pew-opener* arranging us, like a drill-serjeant, before the altar rails; of *my* wondering, why pew-openers must always be the most disagreeable females procurable ... Of *the clergyman and the clerk* appearing; of *a few boatmen and some other people* strolling in; of *an ancient mariner* behind me, strongly flavouring the church with rum; of *the service* beginning in a deep voice, and *our all* being very attentive. Of *Miss Lavinia*, who acts as semi-auxiliary bridesmaid, being the first to cry ... of *Miss Clarissa* applying ... of *my aunt* endeavouring ... of *little Dora* trembling ... Of *our* kneeling down together, side by side; of *Dora's* trembling less and less ... of *the service* being got through ... of *our all* looking at each other ... of *my young wife* being hysterical ... Of *my* going ... of *Peggotty's* hugging me ... Of *my* walking ... of *their* whispering ... Of there being a breakfast, etc., etc.

In this passage all the pronouns are in the possessive (20 instances besides 3 *our all*, and once *their all*), but some of the substantives are in the genitive (9 instances) and others in the common case (23 instances); note that *Dora's* is found five times, and *Dora* twice, and that both *Lavinia's* and *Lavinia* occur without any apparent difference.

9.93. The meaning of many combinations also is such that it would be hard to account for it on the supposition that we have a participle, e.g. Hardy F 295 I cannot understand no rain falling, i. e. the fact that no rain falls | Maugham Pl 164 I can't help the water running out of my eyes.—*Being* as a participle is nearly devoid of meaning: *people being unhappy* is equal to *people who are unhappy*, i. e. *unhappy people*, but this analysis cannot be applied to Galsworthy's sentence (D 100) *I hate people being unhappy*, nor to Thackeray's (N 769) *I have not the least objection to a rogue being hung*, for he has an objection to the rogue, whether he

is hung or not.—Cf. also Doyle St 106 there was no doubt as to the crime being a political one | Bennett GS 267 The way he grumbled about his feet being cold!

Note also the insertion of *the fact of*, which is often very useful to avoid misunderstanding, as otherwise the reader would expect another continuation: Wilde S 25 The fact of a man being a poisoner is nothing against his prose | Hope F 65 He knew very well that the fact of a young lady, deserted by him who ought to have been in attendance, consoling herself with a flirtation with somebody else was not enough for him to go upon.

9.94. The ing in combinations after *without* I take to be a gerund; cf. the possessive in *without his (my) knowing it*. Generally the common case is used, e. g. Fielding 5.550 scarce a day passes without some calling here | Scott Iv 492 without one blow being struck in her behalf | Thack S 56 selling without the Government laying its paws upon the bargain | Zangwill G 154 a boy who stole jam without any one being the wiser | Galsw FS 668 he could do it at home without the world knowing | Wilde S 128 one can talk the whole time without other people hearing what one says.

Examples with the oblique form of pronouns: Bennett PL 146 Our job as women is quite delicate enough without you making it worse by any damned superficiality | Priestley G 462 Can't you see I've enough damn bother on my hands without you making trouble | Aumonier OB 22 doing a lot of things for other people, without them doing anything for her | Walpole Cp 371 I can't put my nose outside the door without them all peering at me.

They in Defoe M 287 goes with the examples quoted above 9.76: only I would fain have had this done without my new husband having any knowledge of it, or they having any knowledge of him.

9.95. But it must be admitted that there are cases

in which the grammatical analysis is more doubtful than in the instances just considered.

Sometimes it is nearly immaterial to the meaning whether an ing after a noun (or pronoun) is taken to be a gerund or a participle. The construction in *I see (hear) John coming* may be analyzed S V O(12), if *coming* is taken to be a simple adjunct to John, or S V O(S_2P), if *John coming* is taken as a nexus-object as those in ch. II above. But *coming* may also be a gerund, and then we have S V O(S_2G). Examples: Caxton R 87 they sawe hunters comyng ouer the felde with many houndes | Fielding T 1.269 I have seen men struggling to protract an entertainment | Di D 451 we heard the others laughing and talking | Galsw FS 530 he could hear a piano being played | Di D 218 as I watched him reading. Cf. below 22.3_2.

Similarly after verbal phrases (W) with prepositions: In Johnson R 85 'listen to one of the maidens reading in the shade' and Kipling S 281 'listening to Mac playing the fiddle' it is natural to analyze *reading* and *playing* as participial adjuncts, and the same analysis might be applied to combinations after *hear of*, e. g. BJo P 1. 2.13 I heare of a tragœdie of yours comming foorth, though in Defoe R 2.234 'I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda in Ireland' and Symonds Shelley 68 'We hear of Harriet continuing her Latin studies' the meaning is rather 'hear of the fact that ...', thus with the gerund. Thackeray in one sentence (N 2) has both constructions: 'Who ever heard of them [i. e. the English] eating an owl or a fox, madam, or their sitting down and taking a crow to pick?' The analysis may be doubtful in Sheridan 180 I don't wonder at people giving him to me for a lover | Stevenson JHF 33 it turns me cold to think of this creature stealing like a thief to Harry's bedside.

9.9₆. The distinction is sometimes very delicate. Thackeray writes, P 2.9 'I recollect my old governor

caning me in that little room'—recollect him, as he was when he caned, or recollect the fact that he caned me? Thus also Ruskin P 1.21 I recollect my mother giving me three raisins | Carlyle R 1.78 I remember my father once describing to us a call he had made on Hope. Here I should say we had the gerund with the common case. Meredith has both constructions, H 146 I remember my father taking me to a tavern ... I remember our having a Welsh rabbit there. Cf. also Bennett LM 131 Fancy the poor fellow never having his own flowers! | Doyle S 1.104 I quite understand you thinking so. *Him* (with the participle) is more natural than *his* in 'I can't imagine him giving a shilling to a beggar'.

Other examples in which the ing might or might not be the participial adjunct: Lamb E 2.22 There is something ungracious in a comic actor holding himself aloof from all participation with those who are come to be diverted by him | Di P 446 they were startled by the scientific gentleman unlocking his garden-gate | Stevenson JHF 23 he was aware of an odd, light footstep drawing near.

Similar doubts as to the analysis (participle or gerund) may be found after *like*, etc.: Hardy R 345 I don't like you going to-night | Maxwell F 196 She didn't like them taking notice of me | Christie in BDS 354 I hate anyone listening when I'm telephoning | Barrie AdmC 107 I can't abide a woman whistling | Shaw Ms (p. ?) I can't understand a lady going up in an aeroplane | id 1.20 You won't mind my taking Blanche in to dinner | Bennett ECh (p. ?) I don't mind you sleeping in blankets, but you oughtn't to have a bare pillow | id RS 15 you wouldn't mind me asking you about her | Maxwell WF 88 You don't mind us having secrets? | Black P 1.267 I should not mind their talking about me | ib 269 I shouldn't mind them saying that | Galsw F 176 Suppose Derek should mind her people knowing.

Will not have is synonymous with *dislike:* Thack P

525 And I will not have you breaking into my house of a night; cf. Shaw StJ 96 We shall have the whole town talking of this.

Note *whom* in Kaye Smith GA 132 to meet the neighbouring farmers whom she did not like coming to the house [= whose coming to the house she did not like].

9.97. After *excuse* and *forgive* we find double constructions, and when the common case is used, the ing may be taken as the participle: Collins W 141 he must excuse my being rather in a hurry | Di D 353 would you excuse me asking for a cup more coffee? | Shaw 2.303 Youll excuse me, I'm sure, having interrupted your business [note the inserted phrase, which would have been impossible after *my*] | Hope F 97 you must forgive me speaking of it.

With *excuse* we have the curious fact that *excuse my (me) doing* sometimes is equal to *forgive me for doing*, and sometimes to *forgive me for not doing*. Examples of the latter (see Negation 29): Hazlitt A 108 she said she hoped I should excuse Sarah's coming up | Scott O 76 you will excuse my saying any thing that will criminate myself | Di F 28 You must excuse my telling you [= I won't] | Kingsley Y 64 Excuse my rising. gentlemen, but I am very weak | Philips L 64 you must excuse my saying anything more on the subject at the present moment | Deeping RR 347 Excuse my getting up [= excuse my remaining sitting].

9.98. With *prevent* in its present meaning 'hinder' we find three constructions: (a) prevent John from coming, (b) prevent John's coming, and (c) prevent John coming. Most educated speakers prefer the two first constructions. Examples:

(a) Fielding 3.510 prevents us from over and under valuing | Di Do 249 the idea of preventing the family from forgetting him | Meredith E 78 I can't prevent the lad from liking me.

(b) Defoe P 12 to prevent people's travelling | Fielding 3.33 to prevent my ever seeing your face again | Sheridan 279 the poverty of your own language prevents their assimilating [their = of the passages] | Di P 566 Bob Sawyer ... skipping from side to side, as if to prevent the young lady's leaving the room | id D 527 something which prevented our getting at each other.

(c) Swift J 247 I had a mind to prevent Sir H. Belasyse going to Spain | Defoe R 99 the tide prevented me going to the wreck | id G 146 prevent the contagion spreading | Kingsley H 241 to prevent the men being hurt | Hope F 58 to prevent Sir Roderick finding out things | ib 83 to prevent him making a fool of himself | Dickinson R 17 to prevent a man ever coming into the rights | Shaw P 10 to prevent him giving what was his to his son | ib 35 to prevent you catching cold.

Two constructions are combined in Hope Z 80 the trees prevented us seeing our pursuers, and them from seeing us | Shaw TT 104 ... because they could sit about on beds and prevent the men from going mad. Sweetie did not prevent me going mad.

Synonyms of *prevent:* LondE 121 stoppit the water goyng | Shaw M 185 do go out and stop father making a scene in the street | Ward D 3.226 You think you'll stop him giving it to them that have a right to look to him? | Benson D 173 will no knowledge stop you holding further intercourse with him? | McKenna SM 300 I imagine most women would try to stop the child being born | Galsw Sw 238 anything that might stop him being useful to her Rafaelite | Kaye Smith HA 302 Any girl can stop a man loving her | Maugham Pl 3.206 [the bell rings persistently] For goodness sake, stop it ringing! | NP 1934 women want children and under proper conditions nothing will stop them having children | Beswick OD 210 It's work that stops a body thinking, isn't it?

The two first quotations may be participial, the two

others undoubtedly contain the gerund. So do these: Swift J 220 I have so much business to hinder me answering yours | Defoe Rox 293 to hinder him going with me | GE A 417 I can no more help remembering, than I can help my heart beating.

With some, but not with all, of these verbs the passive construction is possible: Austen M 105 young folks in their situation should be excused complying with the common forms | Sterne 222 she had been prevented telling me her story | Wister R 76 the prisoners were stopped writing any more letters.

Chapter X.

The Infinitive.

Introductory.

10.11. Comparative grammar has shown that the infinitive in prehistoric times was a fully inflected verbal substantive. In OE the ending was *-an* (occasionally without *a*, as *fon*), the only inflected form of which was the dative in *-enne*, which under the influence of *-an* became *-anne;* this form was used after the preposition *to*. This is not the place to relate in detail how these endings gradually dwindled down and finally disappeared, so that the infinitive became identical in form with the present indicative (apart from the 3rd person singular), the present subjunctive and imperative. In the ModE period, with which we are exclusively concerned here, all these forms have become one, which we term the *base* of the verb. The infinitive in ModE is thus to be considered not as a separate *form* of the verb, but only as one of several applications or uses of the base-form.

It has been said that it was inconsistent on my part to use

the names imperative, subjunctive and infinitive though I rejected the use for ModE of the old case-names accusative and dative. Here as there, it is said, we have a formal falling together of what used to be separate in form but is now separate in use only. There is however, I think, this justification of my standpoint that in the case of the verbs the spheres of utility belonging to the imperative, subjunctive and infinitive are comparatively clear-cut, so that a doubt is nearly always precluded whether we shall call one particular occurrence an infinitive or an imperative, while in the substantives and pronouns it is very often indeed hard or impossible to know which of the two case-names (acc. and dat.) to assign to the common form: neither logic nor linguistic history is here of much help; cf. *Linguistica* 322 ff. and above vol. III ch. XII and XIV (note 14.1_4).

This does not hinder me from recognizing cases in which we may hesitate whether to recognize a base-form as an infinitive or as a subjunctive or imperative. Some are treated below, see 24.2_2 (*do come*) and 12.6 (*go where he will*). How to analyze the proverb "nothing venture, nothing win"?

The uses of English infinitives are so manifold, and there is so much overlapping among them, that I have experienced considerable difficulty in classifying them and in fitting each quotation and example into the appropriate pigeonhole. It was, however, some consolation, after writing most of the following chapters, to go through the corresponding parts of some excellent English grammars, for there I found that their classification, too, was unsatisfactory. Some of them had not even attempted to establish a system to be at all compared with the one here given. Very often they had torn asunder what to me seemed to belong together, or inversely placed together things that are really logically and grammatically different. I may therefore hope for some indulgence, if my own exposition is not all that could be desired.

For the OE period we have Morgan Callaway's painstaking and exhaustive monograph "The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon" (Washington 1913), which will retain its great value even if the criticism directed against it, chiefly by Behaghel and after him by Bock (in Anglia, vol. 55, 1931), is to a great extent

just. For ME and ModE we have no corresponding complete treatment of the subject, though there are, of course, many special treatises besides the treatment in the standard comprehensive grammars.

The early uses of the *passive infinitive* have been specially investigated by W. van der Gaaf in ESts 10 (1928), p. 107 ff. In OE it occurs as a subject and as an object (also after "auxiliaries" and *uton*) and finally in an accusative with infinitive, but in none of these cases it is preceded by *to*. In ME the passive *to*-infinitive becomes more and more feequent; as what I call an adjunct it is not found before Orrm; the passive infinitive of purpose, which is unknown in OE, is also first found in Orrm; the predicative passive infinitive does not make its appearance till after the 13th century.

In a subsequent paper (ib. 129 ff.) the same writer deals with "The Post-Adjectival Passive Infinitive" (what I call the infinitive of specification). The use of the passive as distinct from the active infinitive in present English is dealt with most fully by Poutsma, but neither his classification nor his explanations are always to the point.

10.1₂. The partly substantival character of the infinitive is shown by its power to stand as a primary (as subject, object, etc.) as well as by its mixed active-passive character in some cases (vol. III 11.6). But otherwise the infinitive is now purely verbal—much more so than the gerund, which we have considered in the two preceding chapters. This is shown negatively by the fact that it cannot be preceded by an article (definite or indefinite), an adjective, or a genitive, and positively by the fact that it can take an object and an adverb (or other tertiary), and that it possesses a perfect (vol. IV 7) and a passive (vol. IV 8.7).

10.1₃. With regard to the syntactical function of the infinitive it is of the utmost importance to remember that *an infinitive always denotes a nexus between a subject (S) and the verbal idea*, but that the S need not always be expressly indicated, in which case the full formula is S° I. Instances of latent subject are ex-

tremely frequent. In the first place the latent S is obvious because it is the same as the subject or object, etc., of the (main) sentence:

I want to sing S V O(S°I).

It amuses her to sing s V O* S(S_2*I), i. e. that the latent subject of *to sing* is identical with the object of *amuses*.

It is her pleasure to sing s V P($S_2{}^2$*X) S(S_2*°I)*.

It is kind of her to sing s V P pl* S(S_2*°I).

Secondly the latent subject may be more indefinite, yet determined contextually:

It was dreadful to witness that spectacle.

It was proposed to retire to the drawing-room.

Finally the latent S is the "generic person" (*one*, Fr. *on*, G. *man*):

To sing is a pleasure S(S_2∞°I) V P, i. e. *to sing*, which is the subject of the sentence, logically contains an infinitival nexus the latent subject of which is the generic person (= 'one takes pleasure in singing').

Cf. AnalSynt. 33.5 and 34.5.

That the infinitive always presupposes a nexus between a subject and the verbal idea is shown clearly by the possibility of using a reflexive pronoun referring to the latent subject:

She wanted to kill herself S V O($S°IO_2$ = S).

To kill oneself is immoral S(S_2∞°*IO) (= S_2*)) V P.

To give oneself airs is ridiculous S(S_2∞°*I O^i *O) V P.

(Cf. Fr. Se promener est agréable; il est agréable de se promener).

In accordance with this general view the following treatment of the infinitive naturally falls into two main divisions:

A. The S of the infinitive is implied by the context (Chs. X—XVII).

B. The S of the infinitive is expressly indicated (Chs. XVIII—XIX).

Bare Infinitive and *to*.

10.21. For shortness' sake I use the term infinitive so as to include both the 'bare infinitive' and the '*to*-infinitive', it being understood that the latter is used everywhere except where the use of the former is expressly stated.

There is no reason to have a separate name for the *to*-infinitive, such as *supine* (Sweet), *gerundial infinitive* (Mason); some grammarians even call it *gerund*, but that name is better reserved for one application of the *ing*.

In vol. III 1.3_2 a rapid sketch is found of the development through which *to*, which originally had its ordinary meaning before an infinitive as a preposition of direction and still preserves it in some combinations, lost it in others, so that it has now come to be a mere 'empty' grammatical appendix to the infinitive. It was also shown how a parallel development is found independently in various other languages, especially *du* in Gothic, *zu* in German, *te* in Dutch and *at* in Scandinavian, while the Magyar infinitive in *-ni* presents also a curious parallel. Since that volume of my book appeared, the gradual extension of the *to*-infinitive in OE and ME has been made the subject of a very full and able paper by Hellmut Bock, "Studien zum präpositionalen infinitiv und akkusativ mit dem *to*-infinitiv" (Anglia 55.114 ff. 1931), of which I have made use more than once in the following chapters. He does not say very much about Modern English syntax, which is the matter dealt with in this volume.

Bock, as already NED s. v. *to*, thinks that a powerful influence to bring about the extensive use of the *to*-infinitive has been the decay of the inflexional endings and "the need of some mark to distinguish the infinitive from other parts of the verb and from the cognate substantive". (NED). This should not, however, be urged too strongly, for we must remember that

the rules for the use of *to* are virtually the same as those for *at* in the Scandinavian languages, where the different forms have not been levelled to the same extent as in English.

10.2₂. I must here mention the theory advanced by Fijn van Draat, Rhythm, ch. IV, and Franz, Shakespeare-Grammatik p. 534, that the rules for the use or non-use of *to* are chiefly determined by rhythmical considerations: I ˈsaw him ˈcome | he was ˈseen to ˈcome. It will easily be seen that this does not cover the facts: *make* and *cause* are rhythmically identical, yet we have different rules: I make John come | I cause John to come. Further *to* is used or omitted without regard to the actual occurrence of strong or weak syllables in the word following it: I saw John come | I saw him [strongly or weakly stressed] come | I saw Johnson come | I saw Johnson return | I saw John be assaulted | I saw him be assaulted || he was seen to come | he was seen to begin | he was seen at once to begin. These examples illustrate the invariable use in colloquial ModE. Further it is worth noticing that the difference between the active without *to* and the passive with *to* after certain verbs very nearly corresponds with the same use or omission of *at* in Danish, though the rhythm of the sentences does not always correspond to the English one. Nor is the theory of the influence of rhythm borne out by the examples printed in the following chapters—a circumstance which is the more conclusive because my examples were collected without the slightest regard to the possibility of proving or disproving the influence of rhythm. On the other hand F. van Draat's own quotations are less conclusive than he thinks. However, while rhythm thus has probably played no decisive role in the development of the grammatical rules concerning the use of *to*, it is nevertheless very possible that in good stylists the insertion or omission of *to* is *sometimes* determined by rhythmical considerations in those cases in which usage has not settled on fixed rules.

10.2₃. It is interesting to see how great the agreement is on the whole between the different Gothonic languages with regard to the syntactic use of the prepositional infinitive, whether *at* (*att*, *å*), *du*, or *to* (*te*, *zi*,

zu) is used; only details differ, such as the German bare infinitive as subject and the disinclination in English to use the *to*-infinitive after another preposition. Thus we see the outcome of what Schuchardt used to call "elementar-verwandtschaft" as against "historische verwandtschaft". Note also how history repeats itself, when in ME *for to* came to be used extensively with obliteration of the original meaning of both prepositions (see 14.1_2). In Scandinavian dialects we find the curious parallel development through which the *at*-infinitive is strengthened by the addition of *til*, the meaning of which is obliterated, so that the Norwegian poet Dass writes *min hane, hold op till at gale* as ME 'my cock, cease for to crow', and the dialect of Skåne (Scania) has *han önskar till at dö* 'he wishes for to die' with the further consequence that *för till att* (three preps.!) is used to mark purpose expressly. Sandfeld (Linguistique balkanique, Paris 1930, p. 179) quotes Fr. Wulff, L'emploi de l'infinitif dans les plus anciens textes français, p. 22, and mentions this as a parallel to the Modern Greek use of the conjunction *na* (orig. *hina*) which loses the signification 'in order that' to mean simply 'that' and comes to be strengthened by *gia* (from *dia*), which in its turn loses the meaning of purpose. A further parallel is found in Dutch, and especially in Afrikaans, where *om te* (corresponding to G *um zu*) is used without any meaning of purpose, e. g. *ek hoop om te kom* 'I hope [for] to come', separated in *hy weet hoe om met de ding te werk* 'he knows how to work with the thing'. —In Rumanian *a* is used nearly as in E: *incepe a suflà* 'it begins to blow', *poftesc a avea* 'I wish to have'; even after *de*: *maestria de a scrive* 'the art to write, of writing'; in Fr., It. and Sp. the use of *a* (*à*) is more restricted, and *de* (*da*) is used in other cases.

10.24. In the historical development there is a decrease in the use of the bare infinitive; this should be connected with the corresponding decrease in the use

of a substantive by itself; just as a substantive is habitually accompanied by an article, definite or indefinite, so also when the infinitive is not standing in very close connexion with one of the light words which have from times immemorial required the bare infinitive, it has to be prefixed by *to*, which acts as a kind of verbal article; cp., e. g.

A walk with her is a great pleasure
The walk with her was a great pleasure
To walk with her is a great pleasure
I should like a walk with her
I should like to walk with her, etc.
A sight of her was delightful
The sight of her was delightful
To see her was delightful
I should like a sight of her
I should like to see her, etc.

The examples illustrate those cases in which a verb and a substantive are identical in form as well as those in which they are different.

10.3₁. *To* is used with an infinitive in the first place where the usual meaning of the preposition is distinctly felt: *he went to fetch his hat* | *he was led (inclined) to believe*—or is more or less vaguely present: *ready to believe* | *anxious to believe*. See especially the infinitive of purpose and result. But then it is used very extensively where a preposition seems to be naturally required, but where *to* is really inadequate, as in the infinitive of reaction: *glad to meet you* (cf. Fr. *charmé de vous voir*). And finally where there seems to be no intrinsic need for a preposition: *to see her is to love her*, etc.

10.3₂. Very often the *to*-infinitive is in a much more independent position than the bare infinitive; this is, for instance, the case when it stands alone (*What to do?*), or as the subject of a sentence. After *see* and *hear*

it may be used when these verbs do not denote the immediate sense-perception, but rather a logical conclusion (examples 18.2_1); and then it is required after the passive of some verbs which in the active generally take the bare infinitive (*he was made to jump*, etc.): the passive construction is more remote from everyday expression than the active. Note also how frequently the *to*-infinitive occurs after verbs of Romanic origin (*he desires to go, refuses to go, causes her to go*): the great extension of *to* took place at the time when French (and Latin) words invaded the language in very large numbers. Thus it will be seen that the *to*-infinitive, though far from being stiff, literary or remote from everyday life, nevertheless belongs to a somewhat more exalted sphere of the language than the more homely construction without the preposition.

Two or More Parallel Infinitives.

10.3₃. There is a natural tendency to let one *to* suffice with two or more infinitives—this is parallel to the usual economy of articles with two connected substantives: *the* king and qūeen, *a* cup and saucer, etc. Examples:

Sh R2 IV. 1.165 I hardly yet haue learn'd To insinuate, flatter, bowe, and bend my knee | id John IV. 3.8 As good to dye, and go; as dye, and stay (cf. Cymb III. 3.47) | Mi PL 2.418 awaiting who appeer'd To second, or oppose, or undertake The perilous attempt | By DJ 1.68 I'm really puzzled what to think or say | Shelley 267 Cease they to love, and move, and breathe, and speak, who die? | Austen M 229 the wife who was to share, and animate, and reward those duties | Stevenson T 4 he was sure to think better of it, bring me my fourpenny piece, and repeat his orders | Benson D 185 Dodo seemed to have something to say, and not be able to say it | Maugham Alt 103

Is that what we came into the world for, to hurry to an office, and work hour after hour till night, then hurry home and dine and go to a theatre?

10.34. In other cases, however, *to* should be, or may be, repeated, thus when a contrast is implied, sometimes also when two or more infinitives are placed together without any conjunction.

Famous examples occur in Hamlet's monologue Sh Hml III. 1.55 To be, or not to be, that is the question: Whether tis nobler in the minde to suffer The slings ... Or to take armes, And by opposing end them: to dye, to sleepe, No more; and by a sleepe, to say we end ... To dye, to sleepe, To sleepe, perchance to dreame.

Cf. also AV Acts 20.35 It is more blessed to giue, then to receiue | It will be better for you to stay than to run away | It is nearly as dangerous to stay as to run away.

But Milton has (PL 1.263) "Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven", and "better to die than live in fear of death", which are now perfectly natural.

Repetition and non-repetition are found together in Goldsm V 1.148 It is easier to conceive than describe the complicated sensations ... we agreed to meet him with our usual smiles, to chat in the beginning with more than ordinary kindness, to amuse him a little; but then in the midst of the flattering calm to burst upon him like an earthquake, and overwhelm him with the sense of his own baseness.

10.35. On the other hand, the influence of distance is seen very clearly in some cases in which the first of two parallel infinitives has no *to*, and the second has one, see Baldwin, Infl. and Syntax of Malory § 239, Abbott, Sh-Gr. § 350, Franz, Sh-Gr. § 653, Al. Schmidt, Sh-Lex., *to* 7.

Examples: Caxton R 68 I dar wel come openly in the lyghte and to answere to alle the complayntes | Malory 71 But to yelde me vnto the as recreaunt I had leuer

dye than to be soo shamed | Roister 38 I will rather haue ... Than ... not to be auenged | Lyly E 38 to see a harlotte with the one hande robbe so many cofers, and with the other to rippe so many corses | ib 56 when they see them as it were pine in pleasure, and to wax pale through their own peeuishness | Marlowe F 278 to make the moone drop from her spheare, Or the ocean to ouerwhelme the world | Sh Hml I. 5.18 [it would] Make thy two eyes like starres start from their spheres, Thy knotty and combined locks to part, And each particular haire to stand an end | Wiv IV. 4.55 Then let them all encircle him about, And fairy-like, to pinch the vncleane knight.

10.3ϐ. This is particularly frequent after *rather* (with the bare infinitive) *than:* Sh Cæs I. 2.172 Brutus had rather be a villager, Then to repute himselfe a sonne of Rome.

A number of examples have been collected by C. Alphonso Smith (in Studies in Philol. 13, no. 2)—to disprove the assertion made at Oxford that this was not English—from which I quote:

Psalms 84.10 I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness forever | Goldsm: Cæsar was heard to say that he had rather die once by treason than to live continuously in apprehension of it | Lincoln: I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and have it held up and discussed before the people, than to be victorious without it | Stevenson: I would liever go with you to prison than to go free without you | Price Collier: the sailors and the stokers would rather obey captain and officers, however they may have been chosen for them, than to be sunk at sea.

This usage forms a curious contrast to the use of a bare infinitive when *rather than* stand together, see 12.5.

This may be compared with the use of *that* before a second

clause while the first has no *that:* I hope you will come and that the weather will be fine.

10.37. In reply to my questions about the use or non-use of *to* in the following sentences:
(a) You might do worse than (to) accept his offer.
(b) I cannot do better than (to) give in.
(c) I expect to weep as much as (to) laugh.
(d) I expect to weep no less than (to) laugh.—
Professor Collinson wrote:
(a) Both correct; omission of *to* slightly preferable.
(b) I should prefer to omit *to* here, but its insertion is not unnatural.
(c) and (d) Either with or without *to* possible. I have a feeling that the omission of *to* is commoner in (d) than in (c).

With regard to "You ought to weep instead of (to) laugh", where, of course, ... *instead of laughing* is the natural expression, he said: "I should certainly omit *to* here—in fact its insertion sounds unnatural" (Cf. below 14.4).

10.38. In Scottish *till* (from Scandinavian) is used for *to* with infinitives: Scott OM 185 Cuddie wasna sae thankfu' as he needed till hae been neither.

Cf. Grant & Dixon, Manual of Modern Scots, p. 165.

10.39. How varied the uses of the *to*-infinitive are can be gathered from the possibility of finding a perfectly natural sentence like the following with three different values of the same syntactic combination:

Wood in IF 18.4 but to attempt (subj.) to establish (obj.) a general law to explain this (purpose) is out of the question.

In the following chapters the several uses of the infinitive are arranged according to its rank as primary, secondary, and tertiary.

Chapter XI.

The Infinitives. Subject and Predicative.

11.1₁. When we come to speak of the use of infinitives as primaries—i. e. as subject or predicative of a sentence, as object of a verb or of a verbal phrase—we unavoidably come to deal with the gerund, too, for the two forms are here used for virtually the same purposes. There is a good deal of overlapping, though in many cases idiomatic usage allows of only one construction.

Some grammarians say that the gerund is more abstract, the infinitive more concrete or lively; others that the aspect of the gerund is imperfective and that of the infinitive perfective. Both definitions contain some truth and fit some instances, but neither is really to the point and applicable to all cases. (On perfective and imperfective, and "aspects" generally, see PhilGr 286 ff.).

Subject.

11.1₂. In the OE poetry there is no example of the *to*-infinitive as subject or as object. In Beow. 473 Sorh is me to secganne ... hvæt me Grendel hafað ... færniða gefremed 'there is sorrow in my mind at recounting ...' *to secganne* should not be considered the subject or predicative. In prose we find, e. g. "hit is ungeliefedlic to secganne", where *hit* is the subject, and *to secganne* means something like "in respect of speaking", cf. the Latin of which it is a translation: *incredibile dictu est*. But in many similar sentences we see how natural a shifting of the syntactic perception is by which the *to*-infinitive is felt more and more as the subject—this is one instance of what I call metanalysis—thus in "him wæs lað ... mannum mete to syllenne", where *mete* could easily be taken as the object of *syllene;* cf. also "hit is to lang eal to awritenne, hu oft ..." | "hit

is god godne to herianne and yfelne to leanne". In "him leofre wære wiδ hiene to feohtanne" there is no doubt that the *to*-infinitive has become the subject. Cf. Morgan Callaway p. 9, who is on the whole more apt than some of his critics to consider the infinitive as subject.

Subject and Predicative.

11.13. The *to*-infinitive is extremely frequent as the subject of a sentence. A ME example: Ch B 3499 To lernen bokes was al hir lyking. ModE examples:

Sh Tit III. 1.245 To weepe with them that weepe, doth ease some deale | Pope 62 To err is human, to forgive, divine | McCarthy 2.113 To have held office confers a certain dignity even on mediocrity | NP 1925 De Quincey held that to be murdered is the consummating touch to the fame of philosophers | Maugham P 119 To be obeyed was natural to her.

Very often the infinitive is placed in extraposition, represented before the verb by the preparatory *it* as a lesser subject. The formula is s V S(I) or s V P S(I):

It is a great pleasure to see you | it was very kind of you to come | Marlowe H 167 It lies not in our power to loue, or hate | Spect 173 it would be stupidity to be unconcerned at such perfection | Hope Ch 106 "It is not all of life to live" | it always pays to tell the truth | Shaw TT 10 it must be pleasanter to be tipped than to tip.

Note Carlyle P 181 It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched = to die ... is not what makes a man wretched, or, What makes a man wretched is not ...

Colloquially often with prosiopesis: Hope Ch 249 Very kind of you to come and see us: PI. Other examples of such infinitives as subject preceded by a predicative vol. III 17.9$_3$.

11.14. The infinitive here is always used with *to:* in such colloquial expressions as "Better wait and not say a word about it at present | as well be hanged for

a sheep as for a lamb" (e. g. Quiller-Couch M 151) we can hardly call the infinitive the subject; no *to* is used because the whole is felt as short for "We had better wait ..." (cf. 12.4_1) or "One may as well be hanged ..."; *to* would always be required in "It is better to wait".

Cf. Sh Mcb III. 2.19 Better be with the dead ... Then on the torture of the minde to lye in restlesse extasie | Milton A 6 as good almost kill a man as kill a good book | Galsw D 133 As well defend the opening of another person's letters as admit the possibility of making use of adventitious knowledge | ib 147 Better be out, than stay in this place (but ib 171 Better to die than to live such false, broken lives).

To would now be required in:

Swift P 128 it is better be out of the world, than out of the fashion | ib 187 it is as good be in the dark as without light.

11.15. A *to*-infinitive may be the subject-part (primary, S) of a nexus-tertiary:

Quincey 266 but, to be imperfect being the essence, the very greatness of their imperfection becomes their perfection. (Here it would not be possible to have a gerund, for reasons of euphony.) | Ballard Thought & L. 200 To break a convention being softer than to break heads, and cheaper than to break furniture, the angry man bursts into oaths and curses.

11.16. The gerund may be used in the same way as the subject of a sentence:

Sh H4B II. 2.52 keeping such vild company as thou art, hath in reason taken from me all ostentation of sorrow | Sheridan 212 contradicting isn't the way to keep friends | Stevenson M 93 I do not think getting married is worth while | Benson D 2.24 Seeing things to eat always makes me feel hungry | Mason Witn. f. Defence 176 Being friends is one thing. Marrying is an-

other | Maugham P 74 Crying isn't going to do us any good, you know | Linklater J 155 He had chosen to dine—if eating so unceremonious a meal could be called dining.

The same after a preparatory *it:*

Swift P 60 'tis as cheap sitting as standing | Quincey 298 it is easier talking than doing | McKenna M 260 It's been very pleasant, seeing you again, Deryk | Maugham Pl 3.99 D'you think it was all jam, never being able to call my soul my own?

Thus in spite of the cacophony of three *-ings:*

Benson D 130 it really would be rather interesting seeing your fingers curling up like fried bacon.

11.17. Sometimes the two forms are used in close connexion:

Walton A 124 fishing is an art, or at least, it is an art to catch fish [*fishing* without an object, hence more general than *to catch* with an object] | Stevenson V 176 falling in love and winning love are often difficult tasks; but to keep in love is also a business of some importance | Benson J 176 To get tired and anxious was not the same as losing your personality || id W 80 to suppose that to be engrossed is the same thing as being engrossing | Kaye Smith HA 304 It was easier telling Gervase than it had been to tell the others.

That the gerund has more of the substantival character than the infinitive is seen in the following quotations: in the second *to get* indicates the result, and *the getting* (note the definite article) the act of climbing:

Boswell 2.123 Merely to read and write was a distinction at first; but we see when reading and writing have become general, the common people keep their stations | Cholmondeley Christine 58 a pleasant hill ... To get to the top will be perfect joy, but the getting there is very wonderful too.

The infinitive seems more appropriate than the gerund to denote the imaginative (unreal), especially in the perfect (cf. vol. IV 10.6):

To arrest her on insufficient evidence would be dangerous | To have seen him again would have pained me | Cowper L 2.406 to have been dashed in pieces would perhaps have been best for me.

11.1₈. The gerund, but not the infinitive, is used after *it is no use* (*crying over spilt milk*), *it is no good*, (see 8.2_1 and 9.8_7) thus also in

Williams N 43 she was of the generation that considered it little use trying to look less than your age after sixty | Shaw 1.198 theres no good pretending that it's arranged the other way | Maugham Pl 2.319 If I saved the crop there didn't seem any use fussing.

A rarer expression is

Thack H 41 There is no use to describe the grand gala.

Sometimes one or the other form may be chosen to avoid ambiguity, thus in "He discovered that to love women might be dangerous" *loving* instead of *to love* would be taken as a participial adjunct to *women*.

In a sentence like the following the infinitive could not easily be used on account of the final "thought of":

Allen A 22 Hanging or driving away a tenant is not to be thought of nowadays.

When the subject comes after a form of the verb *be*, the gerund seems to be preferred because "was to" might easily be misunderstood:

Mackenzie C 108 perhaps the most splendid part of it [the evening] was lying in bed with Valérie and talking over with her all the partners | Coleridge Sh 66 What was seeking the favour of the Queen, to a man like Bacon, but the mere courtship of harlotry?

Predicative.

11.2₁. Examples of the gerund as predicative are found in 8.2_2. The infinitive is a predicative in the

phrase "That is to say" = 'means' (Fr. has *c'est à dire*):

Ch B 1713 Noght wiste he what this Latin was to seye | ib 3163 Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie ... Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee And is yfallen | Mandv 1, 2 the Lond bezonde the See, that is to seye, the Holy Lond | ib 13 Jonkes of the see, that is to sey, rushes of the see.

No modern examples are necessary, except the negative:

NP 1935 All this is not to say that the Abyssinians are a nation of angels—which may be the inf. of purpose. The sense is clearly purposive in Hope C 78 The telegrams were to say the marriage was to be at once | This is to certify that ....

11.2₂. Only the gerund, not the infinitive, can be the predicative after *seem:*

Maynard Smith F 214 Living at The Elms seems to me living on a volcano.

On *seem to,* in which the infinitive is not a predicative, see 19.3_6.

11.2₃. The infinitive with *to* may be both subject and predicative. Thus in a definition:

Crabb, Synonyms: To slander is to expose the faults of another in his absence: to calumniate is to communicate secretly circumstances to the injury of another | Shaw IW 118 To exploit a person is to make money out of her without giving her an equivalent return.

Here *is* may be replaced by *means:*

Harraden S 29 to be sympathized with means to be pitied, and to be pitied means to be looked down upon.

But after *mean* we may have the gerund:

Maxwell F 74 To serve such a man would mean doing something worth doing.

11.2₄. Without being strictly a definition such a combination expresses identity between two actions or states:

Sh Hml II. 2.176 to be honest, as this world goes,

is to bee one man pick'd out of two thousand | H4A II. 4.518 if to be fat, be to be hated, then Pharaohs leane kine are to be loued | Tenn 417 To doubt her fairness were to want an eye, To doubt her pureness were to want a heart | Stevenson in NP 1896 to be wholly devoted to some intellectual exercise is to have succeeded in life | Doyle M 20 to say so is to give up a battle before it is fought.

Generally, however, it is not identity that is meant, but the second act or state is regarded as a necessary or immediate consequence of the first:

To see her is to love her | Lyly C 300 to be accused is to be condemned | Keats 2.100 Where but to think is to be full of sorrow | Byron DJ 6.114 To hear is to obey | Swinburne L 116 to look at her is to be made brave and just | Galsworthy FS 731 An era which had canonised hypocrisy, so that to seem to be respectable was to be.

11.25. A gerund, too, may be both subject and predicative:

Swift P 59 complimenting is lying | Zangwill G 215 Seeing is not always believing, despite the proverb; but believing is often seeing | Barrie W 41 her conviction that reading was idling.

11.26. Pretty often an infinitive is the subject and the gerund the predicative of one sentence:

Defoe G 25 To exalt a fool is onely making a jest for the town | Butler Er 218 to teach a boy merely the nature of things ... would be giving him but a shallow conception of the universe | id ER 85 to do this would only be making bad worse | Maugham Alt 1448 To expect thanks for it is really asking too much || Cf. also Oppenheim People's Man 170 The one thing in the world worse than having no friends. is to have no enemies.

The same with preparatory *it:*

Goldsm V 2.175 it would be wronging him and you

to condemn him without examination | Collins W 164 It is only doing you justice to say that ... | Hardy R 70 It is insulting my pride to suppose that | Maugham PV 242 Would it be asking to much of you to register the parcel?

On the infinitive as predicative in *he is to go*, etc., see ch. XV, the infinitive being here considered a secondary.

Chapter XII.

Infinitive as Object.

12.1₁. An infinitive may be the object after
(1) a great many verbs: I can sing | I want to sing,
(2) some verbal phrases: you had better go,
(3) some adjectives: he is afraid to go,
(4) nexus-substantives: his intention to go.

Most grammarians recognize the infinitive as object in cases like "I want to sing" and "I promise to sing"; cf. "I want this" and "I promise nothing". The only grammarian, as far as I know, who has ever objected to this view is Harold E. Palmer (Bulletin, Sept. 1938, Tokyo), but his four tests to ascertain what is an object are not decisive (cf. also ib. June 1939). If Palmer's tests were valid, we should not say that the italicized words in the following sentences were objects: I saw *John* | we owe him *a shilling* | it weighs *three pounds* | he resembles *his father* (cf. vol. III 15.1$_2$).

It will seem more strange that I recognize the bare infinitive as object after such verbs as *can* and *will*. I have already dealt with the question of principle in vol. III 1.3$_1$, cf. ib 12.8. Historically "He can sing" means "He knows singing", cf. the old "Yet can I musick too", and it is still possible, though not very frequent, to replace the infinitive after the "small" verbs by a

pronoun or some other word which everybody will accept as an object. In vol. III the following quotations are given among others: I can no more (Sh) | Can I forget? yea, that can I (Swinburne) | Get back to your good little wife ... I will that (Maxwell) | I can make words, which you cannot (Shelley). A few supplementary quotations may here be given: Moore EW 94 it would break my 'eart, that it would, to see ... | Stevenson K 3 "Would you go?" "Of a surety, that would I" | Priestley They Walk 155 I can look after myself.—That you can't, said his mother | Shaw A 178 Are you quite well?—H. (choking) Am I?—(He can no more) | Cronin C 401 You must come and see us.—We will that.

These are not the only cases in which my use of the term object applied to an infinitive may seem strange; there are border-cases that are difficult to analyze, thus "I long to go", which resembles "I wish to go", but while we may have an ordinary object after *wish* (I wish you joy), this is impossible after *long* (I long for his arrival). If *to go* is the object in "I used to go", what about "he is used to go", etc., see also the cases of object after adjectives and some nexus-substantives. We have no clear-cut divisions here.

The analytic formula for "I can (could, will, would, etc.) sing a song" is S V $O(IO_2)$, but for the sake of simplicity such sentences are in AnalSynt generally transcribed S V O, V standing for the whole of the auxiliary and the main verb.

The Bare Infinitive as Object.

12.1₂. Though its sphere of utility has been gradually restricted since OE times at the expense of the *to*-infinitive, the bare infinitive still holds its own in a series of employments which are extremely frequent and highly idiomatic. They are nearly all characterized by an intimate connexion with some of the most often used

verbs or verbal phrases. We may distinguish the following classes:

(1) the "small"verbs.

(2) *dare* and *need*, which are semantically related to the verbs mentioned under (1); these admit the *to*-infinitive as well as the bare infinitive,

(3) *had better*, *had rather* and similar verbal phrases.

The bare infinitive after *rather than*, *sooner than* is dealt with in this chapter, even when it is not an object of any verb.

12.1₃. The following "small" verbs require the bare infinitive:

can, *could*.

may, *might*.

must (originally preterit, now chiefly used as a present, vol. IV 1.6, 9.5(8), 11.6; the present that originally belonged to it, *mote*, has in ModE times been used only sporadically by Spenser, e. g. Am. 82 "ye mote invent Som hevenly wit", and in imitation of him, in By CH).

will, *would* (but *to* is used after the fully inflected *will*, *wills*, *willed*, *willing*, see vol. IV 15.1).

shall, *should*.

12.1₄. These form the old staple stock of verbs always requiring the bare infinitive; to them was joined from about 1400 *do*, *does*, *did* (but not *doing*, *done*). Its use in emphatic, interrogatory and negative sentences will be dealt with in chs. XXIII and XXV.

In some cases in which the infinitive is not immediately dependent on *do*, its influence nevertheless induces the use of the bare infinitive. Examples after *but* and *except* are found in 14.3. The following quotations seem to be explicable on the same principle:

Thack P 271 "It is very wrong", said Mrs. Pendennis, as if she had never done such a thing herself as spoil a child | Benson DB 279 Otherwise he would not have done anything so foolish as try to grab this paper

|| Priestley G 388 All I do is sign things now and again | London A 39 All he had to do was close his eyes and let go | Tarkington Women 56 The only thing she hasn't done is bob her wonderful hair | Borden AS 143 All he had to do was give Skittles the facts | Strong B 81 he did more than hear her sins.

On *do come* (*come* infin. or imper.?) and similar cases see under Imperative, 24.2_2.

12.15. We must also mention the dialectal (northern) *man, maun, mun,* from Scand. *mun,* e. g.

Goldsm 668 (vg) your worship mun ask that o' the letter itself | Tennyson 230 (dial.) Sin' I mun doy I mun doy, thaw loife they says is sweet.

This is probably found in the Shakespearean phrase "happy man be his dole" (Wiv III. 4.68 and in three other places), though NED does not mention it and Al. Schmidt, Lex. s. v. *dole* seemingly takes *man* to be the ordinary substantive *man.*

Only a brief mention must here be made of *gan*—the preterit of *gin,* OE *on-, be-ginnan,* but often with a weakened sense = Mod. *did*—with the bare infinitive (with the variant *can*) which is so frequent in ME, but plays no considerable role in ModE. Examples are:

Caxton R 27 moo than I gan now rekene | Sh H4B I. 1.129 the bloody Dowglas . . . Gan vaile his stomacke (also Cor II. 2.119, Cy V. 5.197, but ib V. 3.37 with *to*).

Bridges uses it in his archaic style:

E 49 and thus the elder gan complain | 135 [she . . .] And back to heaven for passage swift gan pray.

On the ME use see especially Funke EStn 56. 1 ff.

12.16. These verbs are often classed together as "auxiliaries"; the term is defined in NED "a verb used to form the tenses, moods, voices, etc., of other verbs". This seems somehow to presuppose the old-school view that tenses, moods, etc., are categories given once for all and invariable (or, in a crude form, that they are everywhere those found in Latin grammar), so that *may give,* for instance is a subjunctive. But even if we

accept this, the description does not fit the present case, fc *will give*, besides being a periphrasis of the future (= Lat. *dab* is also an expression of volition (= Lat. *volo dare*), and in bot employments the bare infinitive is used. NED therefore i also obliged to state the rule (s. v. *to*) that the simple infinitiv is used not only after the auxiliaries of tense, mood, peri phrasis, but also after the "quasi-auxiliaries *must*, (and some times *need*), *dare*"—showing thereby that it is really impossibl to find a comprehensive descriptive name for the verbs we ar here concerned with.

Harold E. Palmer, in a recent pamphlet opposes the term "auxiliary" and sets up as a class "The 24 anomalous finite (otherwise the 24 finite forms of the 12 anomalous verbs)" This gives no solution of the special problem before us in this connexion, as his class includes *be*, *have*, and *ought*, which dc not take the bare infinitive.

Sterne M 1.145 has a humorous collocation of these verbs all the children which have been, may, can, shall, will, or ought to be begotten.

Dare and *Need*.

12.21. These resemble the verbs just treated not only semantically, but also morphologically and syntactically, in so far as they do not (always) take *-s* in the third person singular, do not (always) take *-(e)d* in the preterit, and do not (always) require *do* or *did* in interrogatory and negative sentences, but admit the negative suffix *-nt*. Now it will be seen that the tendency to use the bare infinitive generally speaking goes with these grammatical pecularities, but that usage is far from being settled. Historically these two verbs are different, as *need* from being originally a "normal" verb with *-s* (*-th*) and *to* has approached the anomalous verbs, while the development with *dare* has been in the opposite direction: OE 3rd person singular *dearr*, etc.

It should be expressly stated that the following collection of examples, though incidentally illustrating other features (which will be dealt with in other parts

of this work) purports to show the use of the infinitive only.

12.22. Dare. *Present.*

NED: "most writers prefer " 'he dare go', or 'he dares to go', to 'he dares go'. The northern dialects generally retain 'he dare, he durst'," and writers of northern extraction favour their retention in literary English when followed by the simple infinitive without *to*." [The first part of this authoritative dictum is challenged by some E. correspondents, who think "he dare go" impossible.]

Palmer Gr. of Spoken Engl. p. 118: "the present tendency is towards replacing the anomalous by the normal form, e. g. [hi· dʌznt dɛə tə spi·k] for [hi· dɛent spi·k]."

Third person *dare* with the bare infinitive: Shaw D 61 how any person dare suspect an honorable person.

Dare(s) with *to:*

Austen P 150 the hope we dare to entertain | Shaw Ibsen 17 he ceases to fear everything and dares to love something (*to* induced by *ceases?*).

With the bare infinitive, and *dares* in the third person:

Mi A 31 the printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy | Dryden Conquest of Granada II. 4 He who dares love; and for that love must die, And knowing this, dares yet love on, am I | Fielding 1.249 a man that nobody dares dispute with | id 3.441 No man dares call that in question.

Interrogatively: How dare you laugh? | Thack V 139 Dare any soul on earth breathe a word against the sweetest, the purest ... of young women? | Meredith R 150 how dares he come here! || Thack N 13 Do you dare, sir, to call yourself a gentleman? | id S 144 How do you dare sneer at my poor sister? | Browning T 4.61 Do you dare say she spoke false?

Negatively: He daren't come here | Shaw 1.198 I

daren't talk about such things | Ridge L 208 (vg) [He] daresn't leave the 'orses.

With *do:*

Myers M 210 I don't dare leave Linda alone a minute | Walpole RH 46 I dare not speak to your father. I don't dare.

Colloquially "I daren't do it" and "I don't dare to do it" are equally frequent, but "I dare not do it" with the full vowel in *not* is looked upon as affected, at any rate by some people.

12.2a. Preterit: The old form *durst*, without *to* (thus always in Sh, even in Oth. IV. 2.12):

Swift 3.313 None of these durst return | Fielding 3.484 an honest quaker, whose servants durst not tell a lie.

With *to* (quite exceptional):

Defoe M 159 I told the people of the house, that I durst to say those were not the persons.

(Some grammarians say wrongly that *durst* is only used followed by *not.*)

Dared: with *to:*

Swift 3.309 how we dared to venture upon a Houghnhnm's back | Quincey 275 if they dared to give him any insult | Butler Er 75 how I dared to presume to mention such a thing | Hope Q 88 he was bold who dared to say that he would not go farther | Mackenzie S 1.192 if some louts dared to push them | Strong B 13 exhortation which none dared to ridicule.

NED: *dare* 1b: 'None dared to speak', is more emphatic than 'none durst speak'.

Without *to:* Williams N 139 if one dared suggest it.

On the form *dare* as a preterit see the full account vol. IV 1.8: 1.8(2,4) *daren't*, 1.8(3) without *not*, always with the bare infinitive; on *durst* and *dared* followed by *have* + pple ib 10.8(9).

Negative:

Austen P 140 she dared not believe it | Thack V 102 [he] daredn't refuse Miss Crawley anythink | Kingsley H 326 She dared not reflect, she dared not hope, she dared not rejoice | Bennett GS 277 I daredn't hurry | Caine E 545 Roma wished to close them, but dared not try | Bentley T 372 I dared not show myself.

With *did:*

Collins M 33 by means which ... he didn't dare acknowledge | Zangwill G 75 he did not dare speak of their love at all | Benson D 43 I didn't dare smoke | Shaw C 169 I didnt dare run the chance | Harraden D 165 I didn't dare press her | Hope R 53 I didn't dare shout | Parker R 82 he did not dare look into Charley's face (also ib 318, 253) | Waugh W 73 She did not dare grow fat.

Both forms together Maugham Pl 4.86 I dared not let him go ... I didn't dare make a scene.

The same with *to:*

Hunt A 85 We did not dare to go to sleep | Hope R 90 I didn't dare to fire again | Maugham Alt 47 she did not dare to enter.

Interrogative:

Strong B 178 Why did you dare strike him like that?

12.24. Imperative: John Ford (Mermaid Ser.) 198 till then ... Dare not to speak to us | Haggard S 201 go back, and never dare to speak with this man | Ward E 498 Lucy, dare to love me!

With *don't, do not:* Harraden D 174 Don't you dare forget! | Shaw A 112 Dont dare speak to me | id TT 105 do not dare to trifle with me | Meredith H 62 Do not dare to talk that nonsense before him | Maugham Alt 29 Don't you dare to speak to me.

Cp. also the subjunctive in Sh Merch II. 4.36 And neuer dare misfortune crosse her foot.

12.25. Infinitive:

Browning T 4.42 to dare disobey The first authori

tative word | Ridge G 221 the historical incidents which persuaded Moltke to dare show volubility.

The same after *may, shall, will*, etc.:

Shelley PW 2.161 His suicidal hand might dare as well abolish the mighty frame of things | Harraden F• 213 I feel that I may dare open my heart | Wilde L 150 I shouldn't dare show my face in the Row | Kaye Smith HA 261 She had not thought he would dare kiss her at all || Myers M 24 He wouldn't dare do anything as crude as that | Barrie W 28 Not one soul in Thrums'll daur say that to me but yersel.

With *to:*

Shelley PW 2.161 Thousands who, at my voice, shall dare to pluck the golden crown | Ruskin T 111 if they will further dare to affront their congregations | Harraden F 221 he would not dare to write in that strain to me | Conway C 134 I could scarcely dare to put my wild belief into words | Hope R 274 I shouldn't dare to do that either | ib 182 the patrol would not dare to touch the king | Doyle S 5.258 Few of them would dare to set foot in the grounds | Stevenson T 116 When the gun fired, how should I dare to go down to the boats?

12.2e. Participles:

Strong B 212 Scarce daring to let himself think, he hurried along.

Williams N 29 No one, of course, has dared ask him | Ridge S 118 none would have dared offer contradiction | Sherriff F 55 He had dared not ask the others (not natural).

With *to:*

Johnson R 117 had not my fondness lessened my authority, Pekuah had not dared to talk of her terrors | Macaulay H 2.29 he apologized for having dared to take so important a step | Zangwill G 331 If he had dared to love her it was at his own risk | Kipling J 2.13 I should not have dared to spring | Parker R 257 never

had she dared to say to herself | Locke FS 327 How dared you insult me this morning? And you—how have you dared to insult me all the time?

12.27. The verb *dare* is found with a weakened meaning in the fixed phrase "I dare say (also written *daresay* and vg *dessay*)" = 'I suppose':

Austen M 175 but then I am unlike other people, I dare say. Why should you dare say that? | Di D 352 [Uriah Heep:] I des-say | Pinero B 99 Dessay Mr. Allingham'll be glad to turn in early | Wells H 311 I dessay.

The full and the weakened meaning of *dare* are seen together in

Scott A 1.232 I dare say he'll be in sune—or I dare to say, it is the same thing whether the gentleman gets the express this night or early next morning | James S 47 I dare say she would prefer to go.—I beg your pardon; you daren't say anything of the sort. Cf. also Barrie W 27 at the risk of being thought fanciful I dare to say that.

As to the preterit of the weakened *dare say* some dialects have the form *daresay'd* (*dessayed*), but most people would probably hesitate how to express this idea. A few literary examples may be given:

Brontë J 257 I said I would just step out to Bessie —who was, I dared say, in the kitchen | Benson N 14 Frank dared say he would [= Frank said, I dare say I will] | Galsw MP 196 So they had got there before him—cackling about having seen him, he dared say! || Austen S 246 she was almost sure of being told that "upon her word she looked vastly smart, and she dared to say would make a great many conquests".

12.31. Need:

Present: Phillpotts GR (p. ?) Sir Walter was as clear as need be | Galsw T 82 They saw as little as need be of each other.

With *to:*

Sh H4A III. 3.17 I was as vertuously giuen, as a gentleman need to be | Ruskin S 12 telling you what you need to know | Di P 46 people need to rise early, to see the sun in all his splendour | GE A 231 Adam was as fine a chap as need to be | Bennett H 86 they must be written, for they need to be written || Shelley 207 As much skill as need (rare = 'is necessary') to pray.

Needs to be or *need be* seem the only possible expressions (E. correspondents). In Sh *to* is often found where now it would not be used.

Needs with *to:*

Sh Tw I. 5.6 hee that is well hang'de in this world, needs to fear no colours | Ruskin C 197 Suppose a farming proprietor needs to employ a hundred men on his farm | id U 24 the thing that most needs to be done | Barrie T 376 she needs to be waited on | Merriman S 66 a man needs to be loved as much as a woman needs it.

The old form in *-st* after *thou* is in Sh found both with and without *to.*

Negatively: (a) the ordinary colloquial form: he needn't call | Gissing H 95 he needn't have apologized at all | Priestley B 2 You needn't have stopped the car (cf. vol. IV 1.7(3)) || (vg US) Opie Read Toothpick Tales 108 yer neenter fly off'n the handle.—Daniel Jones besides [ni·dnt] gives the pronunciation [ni·tnt].

(b) written *not:* Ruskin 1.291 the wreck of one country need not cause general terror respecting the laws of the universe | id S 17 you need not read it.

(c) inflected: Sh LL IV. 3.201 your grace needes not feare it | Johnson R 104 that is not my care, and needs not be yours | Hope Ch 8 a genius needs not wait (unnatural).

(d) inflected with *to:* Scott Iv 359 thou needest not to be told.

(e) with *do* and *to:* Harraden S 84 you do not need

to have a straight eye for that | Hope Z 2 our family does not need to do things | Shaw P 149 I do not need to be told what to do.

The word-order in "I need hardly say" (cf. "*I can hardly say*", but "*I hardly know*") also shows approximation to the "small" verbs.

Interrogatively: "Need his sister be asked?" and "Does his sister need to be asked?" seem to be equally usual: Benson J 124 need you go at all? | Ruskin S 176 Does a bird need to theorize about building its nest. But "Needs his sister to be asked?" is quite impossible.

There is an obsolete formula:

Sh Wiv V. 5.202 What neede you tell me that? | John IV. 1.76 Alas, what need you be so boistrous rough? | Cymb III. 4.34 what shall I need to draw my sword? | Mi C 362 What need a man forestall his date of grief?

This would now be "Why need ...?". *What* seems to be due to the substantive *need*, cf. "What need is there to ...?" and the usual phrase "if need be".

12.3₂. Preterit *needed* with *to:*

Quincey 103 But this, to be pleaded effectually, needed to be said | GE A 401 he felt no impulse that he needed to resist | Haggard S 203 I slept well, as, indeed, I needed to do | Hope Q 262 the fighting men needed only to be shown where to fight | Doyle R 111 he needed to make no inquiries || Spencer A 2.11 It needed only to ask the question to find an affirmative answer.

Negatively: Old: Bunyan P 39 he needed not to trouble his head thereabout.

With *did:* Thack N 601 Laura's [eyes] did not need to be so keen as they were in order to see ... | Mac Carthy 2.326 It did not need to be particularly keen-eyed to foresee that.

Many examples of the not recognized preterit form

need, always with the bare infinitive, are printed in vol. IV 1.7; an additional example of *needn't* in indirect speech (ib 1.7(2)):

Di P 544 calling to Sam Weller ... that he needn't go away unless he wanted to.

Without *not:*

Bentley T 141 He would neither slacken nor spare; here need be no compunction.

On *need have* see vol. IV. 1.7(3).

12.3₃. Infinitive after *shall*, *will*, etc.:

Marlowe J 1403 You shall not need trouble your selues so farre (archaic) | Wells A 115 Even if he hover for a time between these alternatives, he will need be a person not only of exceptional gifts ... to take the former line.

With *to* (the regular practice):

Marlowe E 2361 You shall not need to giue instructions | Sh Shr I. 1.61 you shall neuer neede to feare | Hardy F 345 no further speech would need to be uttered | Barrie MO 91 if you try that plan you will never need to try another | ib 122 I'll need to be rising now | Stevenson MB 227 no thought that occurred to him would need to be dismissed without expression.

12.3₄. Participles with *to:* Ruskin T 89 The thing actually needing to be done | Plunket Greene E 129 Sir Max would have needed to let them in himself | Sayers GN 183 he ought not to have needed to steal.

12.3₅. We must specially mention *had need*, in which *need* is the substantive (as in Sh H4A III. 2.3 For wee shall presently haue neede of you), but which is often used in imaginative speech in such a way that one is tempted to suspect that it is felt as = *would* + the infinitive of the verb *need;* cf. the confusion of *had* and *would* before *better*. This phrase is found both with the bare infinitive:

Marlowe F 369 I had neede haue it wel roasted | Sh Tw II. 3.198 Thou hadst neede send for more money

| Bacon E 54 Shepheards of People had need know the Kalenders | Bunyan P 160 we had need cry to the Strong | Sterne 55 writers had need look before them | Cowper L 2.116 (and often) to catch the spirit of it, I had need discard all humanity | Austen M 106 They had need be all in love, to find any amusement in such folly [dancing] | GE M 1.80 they'd need have somebody to make them feel their duty (frequent in GE)

—and with *to* (which is nowadays more natural):

Roister 29 [he] Had neede to haue his spirites with musike to be fed | Bacon E 56 men had need to pray for faire weather | ib 62 Princes had need ... to beware what they say | Mi A 28 he who is made judge ... had need to be a man above the common measure | Defoe R 131 it was so tame that I had no need to have ty'd it | Do Di 357 we had need to know each other when we meet again | Kipling J 1.215 he had not need to look twice at the clearing to see what had been done there [here *no need* would be more natural].

Had better.

12.41. On this and similar constructions very much has been written, but the discussion has been chiefly concerned with the relations of the pronominal cases (*me, I*) and the verbs (*were, had, would*), see Progr § 180 = ChE § 78, van der Gaaf, The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction, and later in EStn 45.381 ff., McKnight, Mod. Engl. 511, above vol. III 11.3_1; the use of the imaginative preterit *had* is dealt with in vol. IV 9.4(2 and 3) with many quotations, and the perfect infinitive ib 10.8(3). Here we are interested in the infinitive, whether bare or preceded by *to:* the former is by far the more frequent construction, thus in all the quotations collected in vol. IV with the solitary exception of Bunyan P 79 what he had best to do.

Examples of the bare infinitive after the everyday phrase "had better":

Sh H8 V. 3.132 By all that's holy, he had better starue Then but once thinke his place becomes thee not (possibly the only example in Sh) | Swift P 164 had not you better set out to-morrow? | Di D 516 he told me I had better take a week to consider of what he had said | Thack P 618 his mother had better be sent for immediately | Maugham Alt 1043 I'd made up my mind now what had better be done (thus also with a passive verb).

The reason why we have here the bare infinitive is partly a survival of the old use of this form as the subject (of *were liever*, etc.), partly the confusion with *would* (*I'd* might be = *I had* and *I would*, see vol. IV 19.9), and the felt analogy of *should*, etc.

A few words must be said about the shortened phrase "you better go", which "may be heard any day" (Miss Soames), though it would by most educated people be looked upon as a slovenly pronunciation; see, e. g.

Masterman WL 112 I think you better go as you have suggested | Bennett LM 178 [vg] you better give me the money now.

In recent colloquial language (chiefly U. S.?) the negative is attracted to *had:*

Wells JP 169 You hadn't better begin [= you had better not b.] | Mackenzie C 425 Perhaps you hadn't better come and see me again | Barnes Y 30 Perhaps ... you hadn't better come any further. This may have been induced by the regular question: Hadn't you better wait?

12.42. *Had best:*

Eastw 441 y'ad best take some crownes in your purse | Mi SA 1061 But had we best retire? | Thack P 514 You had best tell me the whole story, Frank | id E 2.245 had I not best have joined the manly creed of Addison.

With *to* (archaic): Swift 3.284 and Defoe R 35 what I had best to do.

12.4₃. *Had as good:*

Bunyan G 12 I had as good be damned for many sins, as be damned for few | Swift P 66 say a word more, and you had as good eat your nails | Goldsmith 657 You had as good not make me [measure] | Fielding T 2.110 Your La'ship had almost as good be alone.—Not much used nowadays.

12.4₄. *Had rather:*

More U 156 they hadde rather suffer ... | Marlowe J 147 Rather had I a Iew be hated thus Then pittied | Sh¦Cor I. 3.60 He had rather see the swords, and heare a drum, then looke vpon his schoolmaster (id R3 V. 3.244) | Swift P 149 I had rather shed it [the wine] in my shoes | Spect 166 [they] had rather see their children starve | Austen P 40 I had much rather go in the coach | Thack P 837 as if he had rather not mention them at all | Ruskin C 160 I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age | Holmes A 100 You had a great deal rather see me stand on my head | Gissing B 130 I had rather have the old crib.

Exceptionally with *to* Sh Oth I. 3.191 I had rather to adopt a child, then get it.

12.4₅. *Had liever*, etc.: Ch D 168 Yet hadde I lever wedde no wyf to-yere | Caxton R 79 yet had I leuer dye than I sawe them myscarye | Malory 92 I had leuer mete with that knyght | Sh Cor IV. 5.186 I had as liue be a condemn'd man | Hammett Th 78 I'd just as lief ask you.

12.4₆. Obsolete phrases with *be* corresponding to the *have*-phrases dealt with in the preceding paragraphs:

Sh H4B I. 2.101 if thou tak'st leaue thou wer't better be hang'd || Dekker F 1505 you were best take heede | ib 2495 y'are best flie | Sh Cy III. 6.19 I were best not call (Alls II. 3.266, Shrew V. 1.108) || Heywood P 501 ye were as good kysse All-Hallows ars | Lyly C 309

you were as good eate my master | Sh Meas III. 2.38 he were as good go a mile.

Early examples are given by van der Gaaf, ESts 10.113 (1300 what him was best to don | 1509 what she were best to do, etc.).

The comparative frequency of the *to*-infinitive; in the *be*-constructions must be due to the fact that the infinitive was originally the subject; cp. *for to* in AR 230 ham was leoure uorte adrenchen ham sulf þen uorte beren ham:

Bale T 889 Thu were moch better to kepe thy pacience | Roister 46 ye were best sir for a while to reuiue againe | Marlowe J 1798 he were best to send it | Sh As III. 3.92 I were better to bee married | R3 IV. 4.337 What were I best to say? | Deloney 59 you were better to let it bee a bond || Ch C 760 if that yow [dat.!] be so leef To fynde deeth.

Rather than.

12.5₁. After *rather than* and *sooner than* standing together the tendency is to have the bare infinitive. This construction is perfectly obvious when *will* or *would* precedes:

He will die rather than submit | Osborne 49 hee would venture the being choaked for want of aire rather than stirre out of doores.

After *would have*, the infinitive *have* may, or may not, be repeated: Trollope W 44 Bunce would have cut his hand off sooner than have signed it | Di Do 466 I would have gone to death, sooner than ask him for a word || ib 264 she would have hurried back on foot, rather than incur that risk | Ertz G 209 the sentiments he uttered were the sentiments he would rather have died than utter.

12.5₂. In the following sentences the omission of *to* may be explained from the ordinary rule (10.3₃) that one *to* suffices for two coordinated infinitives:

Goldsm V 2.130 I was solicited by my wife to submit to any conditions rather than remain here | GE S 142 said the doctor, choosing to attribute the epigram to a lady rather than allow a brother-in-law that advantage over him.

12.53. These and similar frequent combinations lead to the use of the fixed phrase *rather than* (*sooner than*) with the bare infinitive = 'in preference to -ing' even where there is nothing in what precedes to justify an infinitive:

Kingsley H 96 they had died in torments rather than sacrifice to Serapis | Butler E 10 he died rather than live with such a mistress | Gissing G 222 she was prepared for final parting from her husband rather than try to effect that change | Benson DB 28 Bags spent the night on the floor in his dressing-gown, rather than encounter them [black-beetles] | Hope Q 297 she had wandered away rather than be with her friends | Wells PF 74 a dying man who had crawled up to a dead comrade rather than die alone | Doyle S 4.238 he holds his gold rather than spend it | NP 1932 They found Kropotkin starving himself to death rather than take money or ration from a Government that in the name of socialism had abrogated every revolutionary and ethical value || Galsw TL 65 he couldn't bear spiders, but put them out of doors in screws of paper sooner than kill them.

12.54. The same phrase may even be placed at the beginning of the sentence:

Osborne 54 rather then bee obliged to that, I'le make none [no journey] | Fielding T 2.301 some ... rather than run the hazard of its execution, have contented themselves with making a most pitiful figure | Macaulay H 1.223 Danby, on the other hand, rather than relinquish his great place, sometimes stooped to compliances which caused him bitter pain and shame | Ruskin U 34 so that, rather than fail in any engage-

ment ... he is bound to meet fearlessly any form of distress | Hawthorne S 215 And now, rather than have had this grievous wrong to confess, she would gladly have died | Shaw IW 147 But hungry men, rather than die of starvation, will ... begin by rioting ... And the women, sooner than see their children starve, will make the men do it | Maugham Pl 2.169 And rather than work you live on your friends? | id TL 170 during these [weeks], sooner than sit in the bungalow, he lounged about in the hotel.

Rather than to in this position is very unusual:

Norris O 335 Rather than to take his arm from around. Hilma's waist he would have lost his whole stable.

In none of the cases mentioned in this chapter is there any competition with the gerund as where the *to*-infinitive is used as an object.

Go where he will.

12.61. Such constructions are taken to arise from the subjunctive by Mätzner, from the infinitive by John Koch, from the imperative by Kellner and Thum EStn 4.416.

In such combinations with the preposed (anticipatory) base there is no doubt that historically we have a subjunctive, as shown by the form in OE and ME: Beow 1394 no he on helm losað ... ga þær he wille | OE (q Mätzner) Cod. Exon. Hycge swa he wille, ne mæg werigmod wyrde wiðstondan. Often in earlier times with repetition of the same verb: OE Kemble Dipl IV. 24 (q Kluge PBB 8.531) beo ðæt scip ðæs ðe hit beo ond cyme ðonan hit cyme | ib 23 age lond se ðe hit age | Juliana (Bodl. MS) 13 Nulle ich þe her onont, þreate se þu þreate, bude ne beien [= 'threaten as thou mayest'] | ib 75 þat stont studeuest, falle þat falle | Ch B 2064 the geaunt shal be deed, Bityde what bityde! | id B 3319 Be as be may, I wol hir noght ac-

cusen | Sh LLL V. 2.880 Befall what will befall, I'll jest a tweluemonth in an hospital.

12.6₂. The form is also naturally interpreted as a subjunctive if a subject comes immediately after it: Dekker Sh II. 2.23 do Fortune what she can, The Gentle Craft is liuing for a man | Greene J4 395 for, do they what they will, Heere is my hand Ile saue thy son from ill | Sh As III. 3.41 But be it, as it may bee, I will marrie thee | Ado II. 2.52 Grow this to what aduerse issue it can, I will put in practise | John IV. 2.140 [I] can giue audience To any tongue, speake it of what it will | Kemp Nine Daies W 6 yet doe I what I could, I had aboue fiftie in the company | Defoe Rox 306 But be that how it would, I could not bear the mentioning of her murdering the poor girl | id R 297 had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come it from whence it will | Fielding T 3.74 she's a sweet-tempered, good-humoured lady, be she what she will | Cowper L 2.280 They [books] are however much to the purpose, be the author of them who he may | Hazlitt A 104 Be she what she would, treat me how she would, I felt that my soul was wedded to hers | Scott OM 157 go the day how it will, it must be a bloody one | Di N 657 many who could scarcely go astray, be they vicious as they would | Macaulay H 1.142 But, be this as it might, the dangers ... were such that ... | Brontë V 454 Be the spectacle what it might, I could afford neither consternation, scream, nor swoon.

Note here the frequency of *be*, which is rare in PE in the types of sentences illustrated in the following paragraphs.

12.6₃. The subject may be the whole relative clause: Ch E 1446 Preyse who-so wole a wedded mannes lyf, Certein, I finde in it but cost and care (cf. D 119, E 1229) | Fulg 9 Praise who wyll or dispraise I will not be behynd | Marlowe F (1616) 1374 we will stay with

thee, betide what may | Sh Ro II. 6.3 come what sorrow can, it cannot counteruaile the exchange of joy | Shrew III. 2.235 And here she stands, touch her who euer dare | Mi SA 1260 but come what will, my deadliest foe will prove my speediest friend | Ruskin C 44 he makes his own little job out of it at all events, come what will | Trollope B 315 he had fully made up his mind that, come what come might, nothing should separate him from his daughter | Hope Z 41 you shall dine with me to-night, happen what will afterwards.

12.64. If the subject is in the second person, one may take the base as the imperative: Ch I 24 Be what thou be, ne brek thou nat our pley | Marlowe F 877 Do what thou wilt, thou shalt nat be discerned | Sh R2 II. 1.209 Thinke what you will: we seise into our hands His plate | Fielding T 3.251 Do what you will, sir, or go wherever you please, I am resolved not to desert you | By 4.218 The Maker—call him which name thou wilt: he makes but to destroy | Coleridge 118 the hall, that echoes still, pass as lightly as you will | Brontë V 274 Papa, say what you will, I pity Lucy | Caine E 72 all victories are barbarous and bestial—shed around them what halo you will | Hawthorne 133 Ah, husband, say what you will, these are very uncommon people | Gissing R 142 Come to them often as you will, they are ever fresh | James S 128 I couldn't resist my curiosity, my anxiety—call it what you will.

Cf. *let:* Sh Hml IV. 7.189 Nature her custome holds, Let shame say what it will | Carlyle F 3.104 My tongue, let me drink as I would, continued dry as charcoal | Butler ER 172 but let me do my utmost I cannot force them into my mental image of the scene | Quiller Couch M 223 He had done the right thing, let follow what might.

12.65. But in the majority of ModE examples it is most natural to take the base as an infinitive governed by the following auxiliary (in some way parallel to the

construction in "Old as he is, he is a great fool", with *old* as predicative to *is*); there is generally a relative pronoun or adverb to introduce the clause after the base, which may have an object, etc.: Roister 78 Slee else whom she will, by gog she shall not slee mee | Marlowe J 1604 Doe what I can he will not strip himselfe | Greene F 6.25 Be what he will, his lure is but for lust | Eastw 488 The knight will i' the Knights-Ward, doe what we can | Thack P 2.316 There is some things I can't, do what I will, resist | Carlyle S 89 do, what one will, there is ever a cursed fraction | Stevenson D 286 or (cost what it may) I will denounce you to the police || Sh H4A I. 2.85 For, beare our selues as euen as we can, The King will alwayes thinke him in our debt | Meredith E 91 human nature comes round again, try as we may to upset it || Sh Ven 79 Looke how he can, she cannot chuse but loue | H4A V. 2.12 Looke how we can, or sad or merrily, Interpretation will misquote our lookes | As II. 3.35 Yet this I will not do, do how I can | Cor V. 1.61 speed how it will | Gissing B 432 it is there, explain it how one may || Gammer 106 A candell shall they haue a-peece, get it where I can | Marlowe J 1710 goe whither he will, I'le be none of his followers | John Bull 150 an Englishman knows that go where he will, he is sure to find an Hôtel d'Angleterre || Cowper L 2.394 there are seasons when, look which way we will, we see the same dismal gloom enveloping all objects.

12.6ε. A slightly different construction is found in Gay BP 45 Do all we can, women will believe us | Wordsw 84 And I must think, do all I can, That there was pleasure there | By DJ 1.21 And even the wisest, do the best they can, Have moments, hours, and days so unprepared.

Though *like* does not take the bare infinitive it is found in the same type of clauses; also *please:* Stevenson MB 217 Vanish as they like, they all go with a clog

about their feet | id MP 113 Try as I please, I cannot join myself on with the doctor.

12.67. In all these cases it is still possible to take the base as a subjunctive in the present tense, but this is precluded if the following verb is in the preterit: here we are obliged to take the base as an infinitive. Examples: PiersPl. Prol 144 þanne gan alle þe comune crye ... construe ho-so wolde (the only ME example I happen to have; examples do not become frequent till the middle of the 19th c.) | Bunyan P 167 But beg, and do what he could, he went with many a hungry belly | Di N 578 he declared that come what might, he would go to dinner that very minute (very frequent, also with *would*) | Ward D 2.293 men would commit these idiocies, say what women would | Caine M 207 do what he might to banish the thought of her, she would have been with him always | Galsw WM 324 It was good to be alive! Say what you liked, you couldn't beat it! || Doyle St 205 turn which way he would, there appeared to be no avoiding the blow || Di Ch 149 doors were shut upon him, go where he would | Black F 2.100 But look where he might, there was no sign of Lady C. || Brontë P 116 smile and flatter as he would, I saw his soul lurk behind his smile | Carlyle SR 89 for, strive as I might, there was no good running | Stevenson D 17 but, tread as lightly as he might, his footfalls echoed in the empty street | id M 32 Peer as I pleased, I could see nothing | id T 221 since, pull as I liked, I could not budge the downhaul | Anstey V 39 and then, search his memory as he would, he could not remember hailing any cab | Gissing R 141 So it would be, live as long as one might | Doyle S 2.263 puzzle as I would, I could make nothing at all of what it meant | Caine M 198 struggle as he might at that moment, he could not put out of his heart a passionate tenderness || Hardy F 66 the gate would not open, try how he would || Austen M 27 inquire where she would, she could not

find her | Wordsw P 6.776 the ever-living universe, turn where I might, was opening out its glory.

Had is exceptional: Galsw WM 107 Try as he had to put it out of his mind, try as he would to laugh if off, it continued to eat into his sense of security.

The upshot of all this is that after the formal falling together of the infinitive, the imperative and the subjunctive, a type of sentence has sprung up in full flower, containing a base-verb followed by a clause containing a small verb that may be considered as governing the base as an infinitive. The meaning of the whole is chiefly concessional.

Chapter XIII.

To-Infinitive as Object.

13.1₁. In some instances the construction with an infinitive as object of a verb may be simply derived from the use of *to* to indicate direction. see 13.2_7. Where this idea of direction is clearly discernible, the verb cannot take the gerund as object, which is otherwise very frequent, as seen in the following sections, in which infinitives are placed before and gerunds after ||.

With some verbs which allow both constructions a distinction in meaning is made, though it is sometimes difficult to see why one of the constructions is preferred.

The infinitive is generally placed after the main verb, but may occasionally precede it: Mi PL 8.271 to speak I tried.

13.1₂. Let us first consider one group of verbs connected in meaning: *love, like, dislike, hate.* When the infinitive is used the implied subject of the nexus is the same as the subject of the main verb, exactly as in

wish (desire, want) to see. When the gerund is used his need not be the case, the implied subject may be the generic person ('one'): the implied tense may also be generic. Therefore we say:

I hate lying (the vice in general).

I hate to lie (in this particular case).

I don't like (I dislike) smoking (I object to the habit; cp. with the substantive: I don't like tobacco-smoke).

I should like to smoke now (thus always after *I should like, would you like?*).

Quotations from literature (in which the distinction is not always observed):

like: in NED with infinitive from the 13th century; no quotation from Sh, who however has it (perhaps only once): Meas I. 1.69 I loue the people, But doe not like to stage me to their eyes | Brontë P 135 She liked to learn, but hated to teach || *Like* with the gerund is not mentioned at all in NED: GE Mm 211 Fred liked play, especially billiards, as he liked hunting or riding a steeple-chase (note the parallelism with *play*) | Kipling J 1.38 None of the Jungle-people like being disturbed | Hope C 218 Most people like being loved | Kaye Smith HA 179 she liked making love herself just as much as being made love to.

love: with infinitive in NED from 1350 | Sh Sonn 130.9 I loue to hear her speake || with gerund, not in NED: Sh Ven 4 Hunting he lou'd, but loue he laught to scorne.

dislike: he dislikes to be in a hurry || he dislikes being in a hurry | NED has a quotation (Black 1873) he dislikes losing a few shillings.

hate: Sh LL V. 2.355 I hate a breaking cause to be Of heauenly oaths | McKenna Sh 64 I hate to think of going back || Fox 2.116 Tennyson hates being lionized | McKenna Sh 63 I hate doing nothing.

abominate and *loathe* probably always take a gerund.

13.1₃. *prefer:* Di D 475 I might prefer to be alone | | Thack N 26 Blois, at whose house the young man much preferred to take his French lessons rather than to receive them under his tutor's own roof || I prefer walking to bicycling. (Note the different expressions in the second member).

choose: Tennyson 411 Had I chosen to wed, I had been wedded earlier || gerund possible.

elect: Zangwill G 217 I had not elected to die in harness || gerund possible.

scorn: he scorned to tell a lie || scorned telling a lie.

13.1₄. In the same class of meaning we may put *enjoy* (which nearly always has the gerund; NED has one example of the infinitive, but stigmatizes it as colloquial or vulgar).

resent (with ing).

stand: Dreiser AT 2.39 I cannot stand to stay here any longer (U. S., but in U. S. often *stand for -ing* || I can't stand listening to that noise.

endure: Sh Ado II. 1.362 She cannot indure to heare tell of a husband.

mind with gerund: Would you mind telling me the right time? | I don't mind speaking to you about it.

13.1₅. A group of verbs with a somewhat related meaning comprises *avoid*, now always with ing (Goldsm V 1.5 I could not avoid repeating the famous story; in NED examples of the obsolete use with the *to*-infinitive), *evade* (gerund), *escape* (the same), *decline* (both constructions), *forbear*, e. g. Johnson R 104 I cannot forbear to flatter myself | Di D 666 I had long forborne to encourage him || Di D 549 they begged to forbear expressing an opinion; *help* (negatively: Fielding 3.589 I cannot help telling you | I could not help laughing; on *I could not help but laugh* see 14.3₄), *refuse* (*to*-inf., rarely gerund), *miss* (*-ing*), *resist* (could not resist laughing), *shirk* (going to chapel), *neglect* (perhaps more often *to*-inf. than ing).

Note the obsolete use of *refrain:* Fielding 4.43 My curiosity could not refrain asking him one question (now: refrain from -ing).

Scruple to do, hardly *doing*.

13.1₆. *omit:* I omitted to lock the door || I omitted locking the door.

fail: She failed to notice it | Sh Hml I. 2.22 He hath not fayl'd to pester vs with message || Swift T 97 none of these prescribers do ever fail providing themselves with disciples | Fielding 4.12 qualities which could not fail making an impression | Swift 3.345 I failed very narrowly of falling into their clutches (both constructions obsolete).

In AnalSynt 16.2 I wrongly analyzed sentences with *fail* as having "split subject" (as *happen*): as it is possible to ask, "Who failed?" (cf. Sh Mcb. I. 7.59 If we should faile? We faile?), the verb belongs here or in 17.3_6.

13.1₇. The distinction according to the implied subject of the dependent nexus may give us a clue to the use of the two forms with *want*, e. g. in "she wants to mend his coat" (cp. *wishes to*) and "his coat wants mending" (someone else is to mend it); *to mend* thus has an active and *mending* a passive meaning.

Examples of the passive meaning of the gerund may be found in 9.2_3, so here we give examples of the infinitive only: Austen M 41 a spatious house wanting only to be completely new furnished | Di D 646 he wanted so much to see Dora ... I want you to know.

Examples of *need* see above 9.2_3 and 12.3. For *deserve* NED quotes Emerson: Only those books come down which deserve to last.

13.2₁. The distinction made in what has preceded according to the implied subject of the infinitive does not apply to the following verbs, for the implied S of the infinitive is here the subject of the sentence.

Begin (*onginnan*) was used in OE with the bare infinitive, later so frequently with *to* that no quotations

are necessary. With ing it seems to be comparatively recent, not in Sh and not mentioned in NED. I print only a few of my quotations:

Austen P 7 began scolding (also ib 46 and 387) | Brontë P 90 she began chatting about the weather and the town | Carlyle R 2.249 began writing again | Di Do 450 he began pacing the room (id D 471) | Meredith R 4 her heart began wildly palpitating | Shaw A 162 my heart began beating like anything | Galsw TL 135 his heart had begun beating furiously.

Both constructions: Shaw TT 80 if anyone's lower centres began to talk, the shock would not be worse than the one Balaam got when his donkey began talking to him | Bates Poacher 100 a dog began barking. It began to bark first in anger and then ....

Begin -ing is probably used only when some kind of activity is meant, and not in cases like: I began to be afraid, to feel dizzy | Stevenson T 142 I began to see we should have a brush for it in earnest. *Begin to* sometimes implies that an action is interrupted or not finished.

13.2₂. *Commence* with *to*-infinitive is old in the language (see NED), but somehow has not found favour with some grammarians. I have found it, e. g. in Ridge L 190 she had commenced to detect flaws in the arrangements.

In NED the oldest quotation for *commence* with the gerund is from Coleridge (1797); it thus seems to have come up in the same period as the same construction after *begin*.

Start to run, start running (NED no. 24); *to* may be taken = movement, ing as participle.

13.2₃. The substantival character of the gerund is particularly clear after *try: try to* with infinitive (and colloquially *try and*) means 'make an attempt at': Di D 644 the more praise I got, the more I tried to deserve.

But *try -ing* means 'to make an attempt with': Coleridge (in Campbell XXV) Both hoped to get money by journalism, but opportunities failed; and they tried lecturing | Di F 816 I tried reasoning, and reasoning failed. I tried coaxing, and coaxing failed. I tried scolding, and scolding failed. But I was bound to try everything | Campbell Shl 15 Trelawny never learned from experience; he tried killing women, and he tried marrying them, but ignore them he could not | Maugham Alt 405 I tried drinking three or four whiskies [as a remedy] .. I tried going to bed immediately after dinner, but I could not sleep.

The distinction is seen very clearly in Caine C 195 He had tried everything ... he had tried solitude ... He had tried reading ... He had tried fasting ... he had tried prayer.—But in the middle of the same paragraphs: he tried to think of Glory as the Fathers directed ... But when he tried to fix his mind on Mary there was nothing to answer to it.

Try to is not old in the language; Sh does not know it, there is but one instance in Mi: PL 8.271 to speak I tried.—On *try and* see 13.7_1.

Attempt is found with both constructions. Difference?

13.24. *Continue* and synonyms: Defoe R 168 as the voice continu'd to repeat Robin Crusoe | if it continues to rain || Defoe R 169 he continu'd talking to me | both constructions in Graves IC 41 and 44 | *Keep* smiling | He *went on* talking for an hour: as these verbs are frequently combined with predicatives (see vol. III 17.6_2), it is more natural to take the form in *-ing* here as the first participle than as a gerund. When *go on* is combined with an infinitive the meaning is different; the infinitive then is one of purpose (cf. When he was working he sometimes *stopped* to take a few puffs of his pipe); this is obvious in NP 1930 life began by treating Leigh Hunt well and went on to treat him

rather scurvily. (This is different from: life began by treating him well and went on treating him in the same way). Cf. also:

Brontë W 44 I went on to think of his fondness for H. | Wells PF 178 He went on to question me where I had been.

Examples with ing see Ch. XXII.

13.2$_5$. After *cease* the form in *-ing* is explained in NED as having originated in the first participle, as in Wycl. Ephes. 1.16 I ... ceesse not doynge thankynges = Vulg. non cesso gratias agens. But now, at any rate, it is rather a gerund. Examples of both constructions:

Sh Gent III. 1.241 Cease to lament for that thou canst not helpe | Di D 404 I ceased to be afraid of her | Stevenson T 7 by this time we had all long ceased to pay any particular notice to the song | Bennett RS 231 Henry ceased to cough; he ceased to feel hot || Milton PL 10.910 with tears that ceas'd not flowing | Thack P 147 he should cease visiting, for some time at least, at his house | Stevenson T 5 people would cease coming there.

13.2$_6$. *Finish* takes the gerund, thus also *end*, *stop*, *give up:* Have you finished reading the paper? | Stevenson VP 176 you have only ended courting to begin marriage | I have finished (stopped, given up) smoking | Wells TM 45 they would soon stop examining me.

In the same sense formerly *leave:* Sh Gent II. 6.17 I cannot leaue to loue; and yet I doe: But there I leaue to loue, where I should loue || Sh Ven 899 [she] Bids them leaue quaking | AV Luke 5.4 when he had left speaking.—Now *leave off*, always with *-ing:* Di D 713 they had left off telling me to wait. (Maurier T 14 the musician left off to smoke = left off playing in order to smoke).

Have done = 'have finished' requires the gerund and is thus construed differently from *do* itself:

Sh Gent II. 3.1 'twill be this hour ere I haue done

weeping | AV Ex 34.33 And till Moses had done speaking with them, he put a vaile on his face | Thack H 9 having just then done growing | Have you done reading the Times?

Rarely (Sc.) *be done:* Stevenson K 228 We were no sooner done eating then Cluny brought out an old, thumbed, greasy pack of cards.

13.27. Verbs indicating an intention (in which *to* has more or less the meaning of direction towards as in the infinitive of purpose):

intend: What do you intend to do to-morrow (Sh also infinitive without *to;* rarely with gerund). Philips L 64 the seed that I intend to sow || Goldsm 629 to say what I intended doing.

mean: he means to run over to France (with gerund in the sense 'signify', cf. 11.2_3).

purpose: to-infinitive more frequent than gerund.

propose, often with *to*-infinitive || Cronin C 221 we propose sending him out to count bandages.

13.28. *Remember:* I remember seeing the King (a past happening, cf. vol. IV 7.8); in the same sense *to* with perfect infinitive:

Fielding 3.431 I remember when I was at school to have heard some verses | Goldsm V 2.28 I remember to have seen him ... take a brush | Wordsworth P 4.231 Nor less do I remember to have felt a human-heartedness ... | Carlyle R 1.74 Irving's aged grandmother I well remember to have seen | Di D 125 I can *recollect*, indeed, to have speculated on the possibility.

But in speaking of the future: Please remember to post that letter.

Similarly with *forget:* You won't forget to post that letter? | Zangwill G 250 When he got home he forgot to have his tea || I am out of practice, so I'm afraid I have quite forgotten playing (better *how to play*).

Cf. also Cowper L 1.356 The last sentence puts me in mind to tell you ....

Mention, report, only the gerund: he mentioned (reported) having seen him at twelve.

13.2₉. *Delay,* now generally gerund, but cf. Johnson R 133 he still delayed to send for my ransom.

Defer, postpone, put off -ing.

Fear: they fear to die (= coll. they're afraid to die, or of dying) | Bennett LR 133 he *dreaded* going more than he desired to go.

Regret: I regret to say that she is ill || Di D 404 she appeared to me to regret having been a little nettled | Gissing H 52 he seemed to regret having invited me. This resembles the constructions of *remember.*

I *confess* to have committed the crime || Austen M 307 I must confess being not always so attentive as I ought to be.

But also: confess to committing the crime.

13.3₁. The close relationship between the two constructions is shown by the fact that writers will sometimes use one immediately after the other:

Stevenson T 276 At the same time he *began* quietly moving northward ... The buccaneers began to leap, one after another, into the pit | Cather P 90 she turned away and began looking at the house through the glasses. He likewise began to examine the audience | Austen E 8 James will not *like* to put the horses to ... he will always like going to R. | Hughes T2 111 arriving just in time for those who like to hurry. Drysdale never liked hurrying himself | Thack N 611 I like being in London best ... You think a girl should like to be with her mother and sisters best? | Ruskin C 75 the man likes drinking ... the little girl likes to be kind to her canary ... the little boy likes throwing stones at the sparrows ... they like doing it | Butler ER 42 People like being deceived, but they like also to have an inkling of their own deception | Shaw A 95 I like to be liked. I like to be loved.—I dont like

being loved: it bores me. But I do like to be amused | Stevenson MB 308 Dearly as he loved to talk, he could not enjoy ... Dearly as he loved eating, he knew not how to eat alone.

13.3₂. Sometimes writers seem to use one of the two possible constructions in order to avoid having two consecutive ings or *to*-infinitives:

Franklin 158 I love disputing ... He had some reason for loving to dispute | Stevenson T 190 So I must have lain for hours ... never ceasing to expect death at the next plunge | Tracy P 130 preferring to put through a call from a sound-proof box in the post-office to using the telephone in the house | Collins W 478 She seemed to like distressing us both by parting us | Ruskin P 2.100 they seemed to like having me with them | Wells Blw 68 I was not in the vein just then to like being watched and judged | Maugham C 91 how it was possible for her to like being kissed by an old man | Di P 609 The fat boy ... was just going to begin eating | Collins W 92 I was tempted to begin cleaning it yesterday | Carlyle P 77 To learn obeying is the fundamental art of governing.

Thus even after a verb which does not otherwise take a gerund:

Goldsm V 1.107 it is natural for me to wish putting my children forward in the world.

13.3₃. Besides the infinitive as direct object we have sometimes an indirect object: he promised her to go S V O^i O(S°I) | he offered me to pay the whole amount | I gave him to understand that he must expect no further payment (cf. vol. III 15.3_1).

This is seemingly on a par with: He allowed her to go, but there is this very important difference that the latent subject of the infinitive in this case is not, as in the former, identical with the subject of the sentence, so that the formula is S V O^i O(S_2°I) or, more explicitly, S V O^i O(S_2°(= O^i)I. These constructions are

therefore, difficult to tell apart from those to be considered in ch. XVIII, in which the word standing between the verb and the infinitive is the subject of the latter: S V O(S_2I).

While we may make either the direct or the indirect object the subject of a passive sentence (a reward was promised him | he was promised a reward), this is not possible with these infinitives; we can say neither "she was promised to go" nor "to go was promised her", but with *allow* it is possible to say "she was allowed to go" and (rarely) "to go was allowed her", because the subject of the infinitive is clear enough.

13.4₁. The above list of verbs capable of having an infinitive as their object is not complete. Among such as may take an ordinary substantive as object we may name:

learn: Maugham Pl 3.93 I have learned not to judge of my neighbours || he learned boxing | I *hope* to be able to come | *think* (chiefly if = 'expect'): Sh Hml V. 1.268 I thought thy bride-bed to haue deckt | Stevenson D 20 I thought to have perceived a certain odour | Di Do 392 I never thought to look at him again | (q Poutsma) I *swear* to observe the constitution and to defend the integrity of the national territory (cf. *promise*) | *offer*, *decline*, *refuse* to come again | Fielding 4.9 We had travelled a good way, before any one offered to open his mouth | *afford:* I can't afford to miss it | *threaten:* Swift 3.282 threatening to throw us overboard.

13.4₂. Some verbs which cannot take an ordinary object, but require a prepositional group, are combined with a *to*-infinitive. This agrees with the general disinclination to having a preposition before an infinitive (see ch. XIV); cp. the similar use of clauses as objects without prepositions vol. III 2.7.

I *long* to see you (I long for a sight of you).
I don't *care* to be famous (I don't care for fame).
Macaulay (NED) Argyle *consented* to divide his little army (we consented to his proposal).
We *agreed* to set out the following day | Bentley TI 38 he agreed to play with me (we agreed on a plan).

13.4₃. An infinitive may also be the object of some verbal phrases: Macaulay H 2.6 The Duke of York had already *taken on himself* to give orders | Collins M 158 The Sergeant, with his devilish cunning, *took on* not to have noticed them at all | id 159 Mr. Franklin instantly *took on* not to have noticed the girls either | Di P 4 Mr. Pickwick would not *put up* to be put down by clamour [now *put up with* + gerund].

13.4₄. Thus after several phrases containing substantives: Brontë P 213 he often *has* it *in his power* to give useful information | Stevenson M 106 Will *had* it *on his tongue* to make a sharp rejoinder (usually: had it on the tip of his tongue to . . .) | Butler E 73 I *took* good *care* not to vex her | Bennett B 183 Once or twice I have *taken the trouble* to make a tour of the hotel | He *was at some pains* to account for his absence | Maugham Pl 2.223 How can you *have the heart* to sneer at me? | He *issued* (*gave*) *orders* to retire | I *am at a loss* to define it | he *made up his mind* to apply.

Have to.

13.5₁. A case of special interest is the infinitive as object of *have* implying duty, obligation, necessity as in "I have to go". The two constructions "I have to say something" and "I have something to say" are generally kept apart. In the latter type *to say* is adjunct (retroactive) to *something* which is the object of *have* (see 15.3_2); in the former, on the contrary, *to say* is the object of *have* and has in its turn *something* as its

I have something to say S V O(1*2(I*)).
I have to say something S V $O(IO_2)$.

Both constructions combined Mannin ChE 189 he had them to live for; he had to live for them.

The difference between the two constructions *have something to do* and *have to do something* is pointedly brought out in

Trollope A 208 the writer, when he sits down to commence his novel, should do so, not because, he has to tell a story, but because he has a story to tell ... not because he has something which he burns to tell, but because he feels it to be incumbent on him to be telling something.

Analogous uses of *have* with infinitive are found in other languages: Dan. *du har at være hjemme kl. 5* (Mikkelsen, Ordføjningsl. 42, cf. 41, ODS at 3), Goth. Kor. 2.11.12 *iþ þatei tauja jah taujan haba* (as a rendering of Greek future); G *er hat zu gehorchen* (cf. Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax 2.332 f.); note also the Romanic future: *amare habeo* which has become *aimerai, amerò*, etc., and the later Fr. *j'ai à vous remercier*, It. *aveva da preparare*, etc.

13.5₂. As expressions like *I have to go* seem quite natural, it is somewhat strange that the English construction, which is so familiar to us from our everyday speech and seems so indispensable, should have taken a long time to become at all common. Neither Shakespeare nor Milton seems to know it. The earliest examples in NED are from 1579, 1594 and 1596, then there is none till 1765. There is, however, an earlier one in Ch C 749 I moot go thider as I have to go.—Dr. van der Gaaf has one from Cursor Mundi 14194 F. Qua has to ga any way, gode es þai ga bi the light of day.

In the other examples given by W. van der Gaaf, p. 184, we have an object, which probably belongs to *have*, even if it follows after the infinitive. In AR 72 "Ancre naueð to witene buten hire & hire meidenes" I take the last four words to be the object of *haueð*, *buten* being the adverb (*ne ... buten* =

'but, only'). The same analysis I am inclined to apply to the only OE example adduced, as containing an intransitive verb: Ælfric Hom. II. 78 gecyrrað nú huru-ðinga on ylde to lifes wege, nu ge habbað hwónlice to swincenne (in Callaway without the accent on hwonlice, in v. d. G. with a wrong *life* inserted). Here I take *hwónlice* as the object of *habbað*, in the same way as we have in ModE "you have not long to live".

On the examples with *have to do* see below 13.5₆.

13.5₃. Some years ago, while I was still acting as professor in the University of Copenhagen, I had noticed the scarcity of instances in some early writers (there were none in the first edition of Bunyan P and none in Wycherley's Plain Dealer, probably only one in Swift J 422 Dr. Freind, who must needs have to get old Dr. L. turned out). I therefore asked some of my students to count examples of *have to* and *am to* in various books. They found in

	have to	am to
Butler Hudibras	3	24
500 pages of 18th cent. novels (5 books)	2	85
300 pages of Jane Austen P.....	2	89
300 pages of R. L. Stevenson	1	3
300 pages of Anthony Hope.....	6	3
300 pages of H. G. Wells.....	8	8

These statistics are not quite conclusive because the various modes of employment were not kept distinct.

The two examples from Austen P are: 103 Elizabeth had only to suffer from the uncomfortable feelings ... | 172 I perfectly comprehend your feelings and have now only to be ashamed of what my own have been.

13.5₄. Nowadays *have to* may be used with all kinds of infinitives, including intransitive and passive, as in

Di N 44 the little boys had to be got up to the top of the coach, and their boxes had to be brought out and put in, and Mr. Squeers's luggage was to be seen

carefully deposited in the boot (thus alongside of *was to*) | Conway C 115 money had to be found | ib 168 all would have to be begun again from the beginning.

Two examples of the infinitive *have to:*

Stevenson K 286 the explanation is one that I blush to have to offer you | Butler W 229 even though the doing so would make him have to go down from Cambridge.

It may be combined with another *have:*

Black P 2.143 I won't have it [the money] ... But you'll have to have it | Norris O 110 we will have to have some one that's in the know to steer us.

13.5₅. The meaning of *have* + *to*-infinitive is generally obligation, necessity, duty, thus the same as of the present tense *must.*

There are, however, some exceptions to this. In connexion with *yet* it expresses the simple future in Butler Er 279 I have yet to learn that we should model our conduct on that of the lower animals | Shaw StJ 43 I have yet to learn that he is an able general.

(Cp. *I am to learn* in Sh Merch I. 1.5).

Instead of *have to* (the fuller *have got to* is frequently used, see vol. IV. 4.4; in 4.4(3) there are examples of *have got* with object and subsquent infinitive; in 4.4(4) restrictions in the use.

One of the reasons why the *have to*-combination is nowadays used so extensively is the modern restriction in the use of *must*, which is not much used as a preterit except in indirect speech (see vol. IV 1.6 and 11.6) and which has neither participle nor infinitive. Instead we have

I had to go.

I have had to go.

I shall have to go (example vol. IV 18.5(1)).

You will have to go.

Having to go, etc.

In combination with *only* (or *but*) *have to* means the

same thing as 'need' (as a necessary condition for something else):

Di M 464 he had only to say that he had been sent to summon Jonas back, and there was an end of it | Allen A 230 Years afterwards he had but to repeat the formula and the scene would rise before him.

13.5₆. A fixed phrase in which *have to* has not exactly the usual meaning of obligation is *have to do (deal) with* = 'have some connexion with', as in

Ch MP 4.234 Algates he that hath with love to done Hath ofter wo then changed is the mone (Cf. some ME examples in v. d. Gaaf's paper, p. 185 f.) | Mi PL 6.125 When reason hath to deal with force | Hope C 50 What's that got to do with it?

Cf. Dan. *hvad har det at gøre med ...?*, G. *hat zu tun mit*, Fr. *avoir a faire (affaire) avec*, etc.

On a later development in which *is to do* takes the place of *has to do*, *to do* being used as an adjunct (Is that anything to do with your health?) see vol. II 15.83.

A few recent examples:

Walpole Cp 248 in things to do with this world he was now worse than a child | id DW 152 Everything to do with Seddon Court drew it [the wilder nature] out of him | Maugham Alt 115 he had an invincible distaste for anything to do with pens and paper.

Hence also the substantive *to-do* (NED do 33 from 1570 to now) and *ado* from Scand. *at*.

On the infinitive as object of the phrases *had better, best, sooner*, etc. see 12.4.

13.5₇. The same semantic development as with *have to* is found in *ought to*, originally preterit of the verb OE *ah*, inf. *agan* 'owe, possess', which has come to be the usual verbal expression for the idea of 'duty' and is now felt to be a present (vol. IV 9.5 (5—6)). It has regularly the *to*-infinitive; only exceptionally the bare infinitive: once in Sh Cæs I. 1.3 you ought not walk without the

sign of your profession; further London V 188 [Amr] she ought not remain.

In ME *oughte* also with a dative (*him, us*, Ch, chiefly when no inf. follows, but also e. g. G 14 Wel oughte us werche, and Ydelnes withstonde).

Infinitive as Object of Substantives and Adjectives.

13.61. If we consider (as I think we must) the infinitive as object of the verb in *I wish* (*determine, decide, plan, . . .*) *to start at once, I will start at once*, the natural consequence is to call the infinitive an object of the corresponding nexus-substantives (see the similar appreciation of a content-clause in vol. III 2.1_6 and 2.3_5):

My wish (determination, decision, plan, will, intention, desire, attempt) to start at once | a boundless will to please | his longing (hope) to see her | a permission to go | Cowper L 2.386 Your plan to surprise me agreeably succeeded to admiration | Benson D 61 a sturdy refusal to transgress . . . a code which deals with the most ordinary and commonplace virtues and vices | Chesterton B 99 a bitter craving to eat bread | his refusal (reluctance, hesitation, failure) to obey.

Some of these may also be construed with *of* (*at*) *-ing:* I have made no attempt to achieve = . . . at achieving | Galsw Frat 10 the wish to have and the fear of having, the wish to be and the fear of being | Maugham Pl 3.167 I haven't the least intention of going | Cronin C 247 the fixed intention of confounding her.

But *power to do ill*, etc., are classed with Inf. of Specification.

Note the different analysis:

It was my wish to start at once s V $P(S^2{}_2X)$ S(I 3).

It was my wish to start at once that surprised him [s V] $S(S^2{}_2$ X O(I 3)) [3c] V O_2.

13.62. After adjectives and corresponding substantives.

Just as the substantive *desire* can have an infinitive as object, so can the adjective *desirous* as in Macaulay H 1.115 they were desirous to erect a commonwealth on the ruins of the old English polity | Di P 27 though he is not desirous to have it generally known (also Thack P 304, Maugham Pl 3.152). Also: *desirous of holding* ....

This leads to the recognition of the infinitive as object after synonymous adjectives:

Anxious (*eager*) to get back | Meredith R 252 the girls are *dying* to know you | Conway C 248 *burning* to find myself home again | Maugham Pl 3.31 she's *crazy* to live in England | Boswell 2.95 I was *curious* to observe how Dr. Johnson would be affected (cp. Fielding 4.1 I have a surprising *curiosity* to read every thing which is almost illegible) | Austen P 343 she was *wild* to be at home | London A 66 Not that we were wild, exactly, but that we were wild to run wild | Mackenzie SA 200 He is rather *keen* to trot round the theatres (often *keen on -ing*) | *ready* (*readiness*) to go.

Cp. for the opposite idea Hope R 26 I was *reluctant* to draw attention to myself.

But this analysis will not be recognized by all grammarians.

I am not inclined to call the infinitive the object of *glad:* glad to see you, cf. below Infinitive of Reaction.

And.

13.71. In colloquial English we find in certain combinations *and* where we should expect *to*, thus parataxis instead of hypotaxis (Cf. NED and 10, Storm EPh 690, Poutsma 1.361). This to some extent resembles the phenomenon in Danish which I have treated in a paper, Dania 3 (1895), reprinted with some changes, "Sammen-

faldet: *og = at*" in Tanker og studier 1932 p. 175 ff.; the Danish development, however, is much more extensive and has phonetic and syntactical as well as semantic causes. Parallels from other languages are given in my paper.

In English it is chiefly found after *try* and *mind*, but only if these are used in this form (base, i. e. inf. or imper.), e. g. (only from the 19th c. on, NED has one from Mi): Di Do 73 Try and keep a good heart | Thack N 55 She would try and know about everybody's business (often in Thack) | Ruskin U 145 We will try and get a clearer notion of them | GE Mm 199 It is of no use to try and take care of all the world | Wilde S 84 women paint in order to try and look young | Galsw Ca 172 she never even began to try and understand what she believed ... rarely did she forget to try to be good.

The parataxis is marked by the comma in Collins M 423 Was the birthday night an exception? Try, and remember.

Never *and* after the inflected forms *tries*, *tried*, *trying*, and rarely after *I* (*you*) *try:* AHuxley Crome Yellow 308 if you try and kiss me again I shall box your ears. In Galsw SP 329 Should he speak, or keep silent; try to console; try to pretend?—it would hardly be possible to write *and* for *to*, because after the pause *try* would be understood as an imperative.

13.7₂. Examples of *and* after *mind:* Thack N 73 mind and send for me whenever you want me | Darwin L 2.170 Never mind and pitch into me, if you think it requisite | Kingsley H 300 mind and specify Carthage and Hippo | GE A 49 you must mind and not lower the Church | Cronin H 71 Mind and have it boiling.

13.7₃. Isolated examples after other verbs in inf. and imper.: Browning 1.518 *Remember* and tell me, the day you're hanged, How you affected such a gullet's-gripe! | Darwin L 2.273 Pray kindly remember and tell Profes-

sor Wyman | Browning 1.424 Let us *begin* and carry up this corpse | Darwin L 1.296 I will now begin and go through your letter seriatim | GE S 37 *See* and get the money, and pretty quickly, will you? | Mason No other Tiger 52 like a man in a shop, when you tell him to *take care* and see that your parcel reaches home in time for tea | GE A 86 she had told Thias where this linen lay, that he might *be sure* and reach it out for her | Ward M 111 I was to be sure and ask you to wait.

13.7₄. After verbs of movement *to* denotes purpose more distinctly than *and:* Come to see me! | Come and see me!—*Go* and *be* before *and* are often nearly insignificant, see especially the last quotation, a common colloquial phrase: Darwin L 2.337 For God's sake, do not go and get your throat cut | Thack V 324 what have you been and given Pitt's wife? | Smedley F 1.280 you've been and gone and won the race.

13.7₅. I collect here a number of related examples showing an American slipshod use of *and* + the infinitive after an ing—it resembles, but is not quite parallel to the Dano-Norwegian "ellers bliver jeg her stående og snakke", Tanker og st. 202: Hemingway Sun also r. 45 I am going up the street and eat (also ib 116 and 233) | Lewis MA 324 I'm going back and tell Terry and Gottlieb they can go to the devil | Dreiser AT 2.356 she was going to the principal ministers of Auburn and see if she could not secure a church.

For want of a better place I print here a few very irregular instances of infinitives:

Norris P 27 I don't see why he don't marry the young lady and be done with it [as if he had begun *shouldn't* instead of *don't*] | Hay B 176 There won't be a train leave or come in for the present (Oxford friends told me that colloquially one might say: there won't be anybody pass here for the next hour).

Chapter XIV.

Infinitive Governed by Prepositions.

14.1₁. As a rule prepositions cannot govern an infinitive, but require the gerund instead. English in this respect differs from many other languages, where we have, e. g., *ohne zu warten, uden at vente, sans attendre, senza aspettare*, etc.

Exceptions with an infinitive as regimen of a preposition, are:

(1) *to* itself (on the rivalry between *to* + infinitive and *to* + gerund see ch. XVI).

(2) *for to*, see 14.1_2.

(3) *about to*, see 14.2.

(4) *but, except, save* in certain cases, see 14.3.

(5) *instead of* in special use, see 14.4.

14.1₂. *For to* (cf. above 10.2_3) originally expressed purpose, but was used extensively in ME as a simple equivalent of *to* with the infinitive (Cf. Bock, Anglia 55, 186 ff.). It had become comparatively rare in literary Elizabethan, but survives to some extent in dialectal and vulgar speech to our own days. Examples:

AR 238 betere is uorto þolien þurst þen uorto beon iattred | Ch A 3112 [storie] worthy for to drawen to memorie | ib 4135 Loo, heere our silver, redy for to spende | Marlowe T 34 Therefore tis good and meete for to be wise | ib 105 a foe ... That dar'st presume thy soueraigne for to mocke | Sh Wint I. 2.427 Forbid the sea for to obey the moone | AV Mat 27.6 it is not lawfull for to put them into the treasurie | Walton A 174 the baits good for to catch the bream | Goldsmith 661 by the laws, mamma, you make me for to laugh | Phillpotts M 43 I should dearly wish for to see him married | Bennett A 50 I'm sorry for to tell ye | ib 65 I shall want for to see him (in other places *for* with bare infinitive, which is hardly correct).

See also Hittmair, Do 59, Bøgholm, Bacon 142, Sh-Lexikon 438, Sarrazin, Sh's Lehrjahre 37, Joyce Ir 51.

14.2₁. *About to* means 'at the point of, just going to, beginning to'. Examples after *be:* More U 26 And as I was abowte to answere hym: 'see you thys man?' sayeth he ... | Sh Hml I. 1.147 It was about to speak, when the cock crew | ib II. 1.50 what was I about to say? By the mass, I was about to say something (cf. Franz § 622) | Gibbon M 213 North had lost, or was about to lose, a majority in the House of Commons | Di P 1.36 Mr. Snodgrass was about to offer an historical account of the circumstances, when he was suddenly checked | Kingsley H 74 Philammon was about to follow them, when Cyril stopped him | Quiller-Couch M 189 as I was about to say | Kipling L 167 I was about to go blind | Swinburne L 209 I am not now about to preach to you.

Examples of *about to* without a preceding *am*, etc.: Wordsw P 6.608 and something evermore about to be | Di Do 45 she looked as though about to swoon | Maugham Pl 3.183 when your friends see you about to make a terrible mistake | Strong B 31 John, at first about to deny it, invented a story.

For the use of *about to take place*, etc., as adjuncts, see vol. II 15.89.

14.2₂. In the same sense we find, though more rarely, *about* with the gerund:

Congreve 218 I am about making hard conditions to come abroad | Trelawny R 100 the old palace, which he was about giving up ... the Hunts too were about moving to the same destination | Carlyle (in Fox 2.28) I am about writing upon Oliver Cromwell—still about it; for the thing will not stir from the spot | Thack P 242 he was about addressing him in his cheery high-toned voice, when he caught sight of the boy's face | Di F 686 Lavinia was about replying to her honoured parent | Hawthorne 1.293 I am about taking a walk.

This, of course, is different from the same construction in "he talked about moving" | Maugham Alt 259 he set about putting things in order—where we have the usual combination of preposition and gerund.

14.31. A class of prepositions that are often combined with infinitives comprises *but*, *save*, *except*, to which may be added *besides*.

In "I cannot but admire his courage" *admire* is felt as dependent on *can*, as it is = I can but (adv.) admire, I can only admire. Sh Meas V. 1.7 our soule cannot but yeeld you forth.

In such a sentence as "she does nothing but cry", the bare infinitive may similarly be considered dependent on *does*. Similar examples with various forms of *do:*

Sh H5 V. 2.59 as souldiers will, That nothing doe, *but* meditate (indicative?) on blood | Di P 428 just before the psalms, when the people have got nothing to do but look about 'em | Waugh W 79 with nothing to do with their day but spend it | Stevenson K 88 there was nothing to do but listen and wait | Galsw EC 568 there was nothing to be done but wait and see | Meredith R 381 what have I done but make every soul I know wretched about me? | Shaw IW 328 Napoleon often moodled about for a week at a time doing nothing but play with children or read trash | Walpole F 95 I've been in a nasty state, doing nothing but just brood || Locke GP 143 What had she done for her father *save* leave him at the first opportunity? || Quiller Couch M 277 I have done nothing *except* send for the constable | Waugh W 41 Fanny had nothing to do except go to parties and give them | Maugham Pl. 2.112 I've done everything in my power to show you except say it right out (Bennett W 2.116) | McKenna Sh 63 I hate doing nothing except spend money and pretend I'm enjoying myself || Hughes T 2 I hardly remember what I did *besides* read | Oppen-

heim Prod. Monte C 177 What does he do in the world besides gamble?

Ere (= before, rather than) is rare: Sh R3 III. 4.40 he will lose his head, ere giue consent.

14.3₂. Sometimes in similar sentences we find a finite verb instead of an infinitive:

AR 120 ne deð heo bute þeoteð | Ch B 2121 Thou doost nought elles but despendest tyme | Mi A 39 What does he therefore but resolvs to give over toyling | Spect 73 though he has done nothing but stalked across the stage | Meredith H 213 What does she do, Mr. Harrington, but begins praising you.

Here *but* may be apprehended as an adversative conjunction.

14.3₃. A frequent combination is *cannot choose but* with a bare infinitive:

Dekker F 1412 a lady whome you cannot choose but hate | Sh Ven 79 Looke how he can, she cannot chuse but loue | Tp II. 2.24 | Brontë V 377 I looked long at that picture, and could not choose but look | Stevenson T 196 I could not choose but suppose ....

14.3₄. In the same sense we have *cannot help but* with infinitive (= cannot help -ing, 8.2_1); this is not confined to U. S., but is also found in British writers:

Walpole W 26 Who could help but be devoted to the old Duke? | Cronin H 444 We cannot help but hear the news and bruit of the town at Levenford House | Williams N 294 these passions could not help but besiege poor Pamela hotly.

NED has one quotation (from Hall Caine) without remark, and one for *help to* + infinitive (from Kingsley), but many examples of the gerund. Krapp says: *I cannot help but think, believe*, etc., is crude and unidiomatic English for *I cannot help thinking, believing*, etc. Fowler does not mention the construction. Curme S 480 defends it, but the whole of his treat-

ment of similar constructions p. 479 f. is full of gratuitous suppositions of unnatural ellipses.

14.35. Otherwise *but* requires the *to*-infinitive: We had no choice (no alternative, nothing else for it) but to submit | What could she expect but to be despised? | There remains no more but to thank you for your courteous attention (NED, *but*) | Stevenson T 6 All the time the captain made no change whatever in his dress but to buy some stockings from a hawker (purpose?) | Bennett HL 379 There is nothing to do but to go back to the Orgreaves.

Except with a *to*-infinitive is seen in Maxwell S 42 One can do nothing—except to make light of the incident | Maugham Pl 2.218 You want nothing very much except to be amused | Allen A 215 Rum had absolutely no effect upon him except to embalm his body and to heighten the eloquence of his falsetto.

In all such cases *to* is used exactly as if there were no preposition before it.

14.4. After *instead of* we have a bare infinitive in the following sentences, in which it is parallel to the preceding infinitive:

Di D 43 a word of encouragement might have made me respect instead of hate him | Priestley F 471 they had watched the stormy weather ebb away instead of gather force | Lewisohn St. Escott 226 she asked me whether I wanted to cook instead of write.

Similarly a *to*-infinitive parallel to another *to:*

Ruskin S 194 as if the cross was only a thing to be carried, instead of to be—crucified upon | Shaw M 191 a person who proposes to enrich the common fund instead of to spunge on it | Sinclair Goose-Step 424 the way to confute error is to understand it and tell the truth about it, instead of to lie about it and repress it by force.

To belongs to both infinitives in Mannin ChE 46 they needed sons if they were to ... own their land

instead of rent it | Fox 1.233 teaching them to speak, instead of write their thoughts.

But a *to*-infinitive is used if *to* expresses purpose (in the first quotation we see also the usual gerund after *instead of*):

Shaw IW 116 One more example of how your taxes may be used to enrich profiteers instead of to do you any service ... to allow them [profiteers] to make all the shells instead of having them made in national factories | id in NP 1934 they will use their power to rationalise Capitalism instead of to destroy it | (NP) he went there to gain money instead of to spend money.

As to now requires a gerund, but formerly it might be followed by an infinitive: North 254 For as to destroy thy natural countrie, it is altogether vnmeete.

Chapter XV.

The Infinitive as Secondary.

The Infinitive as Adjunct.

15.1ı. The use of an infinitive as secondary in a junction (as adjunct) was dealt with in vol. II 15.8.

Here I shall give a short summary of this with typical examples arranged according to the form—active or passive—but I single out for separate treatment those that are active in form but in vol. II were said to be passive in meaning; these I now term retroactive, see 15.2.

Active: in time to come | she is not the kind of girl to do such a thing | the first to come and the last to leave | there isn't a girl in London to touch her | that has (is) nothing to do with your life | concerning the meeting about to take place.

Passive: the next thing to be considered | matters

to be gone through | Dombey was a man to be known | a remnant about to be put up to auction.

15.1₂. I add some supplementary examples: Mason Ch 20 He has got six years of his sentence still to run || Galsw Ca 464 she was never one to be afraid | Maugham HB 369 I'm one to keep myself to myself. I'm not one to go about with anybody ... I'm not the first one to have a baby | NP 1934 he is one of the five white men to have penetrated to the shrine of Ordam Padshah.

Mason Ch 106 Bachelors are the people to run houses. —With imaginative perfect: Maugham FPS 42 She was not the woman to have lied about her age.

Locke St 114 Perhaps she was a wicked woman to try to come between a girl and her happiness [= since she tried].

Di OT 29 darned cotton-stockings of the same colour, and shoes to answer | Bennett ECh 218 Mr. L. had a fat and prominent nose, a body to match.

(This may be used predicatively: Stevenson M 158 the others are probably to match).

AV Gen 2.5 there was not a man to till the ground | Stevenson K 138 there were few to make remarks and fewer to tell tales | Russell FO 58 on this latter question there was worse to follow.

Austen P 151 With all these circumstances to favour an attachment, and nothing to prevent it, am I wrong in indulging the hope ... ? | Shaw 2.120 this is a pretty sort of asylum for a man to be in, with no one but you to take care of him! | Golding SD 295 he's bound to get up on his feet again with you to back him || Collins W 433 and, without a living soul to wish them well at parting, the two took their way into the world alone

Butler Er 309 without even the moon to cheer us | Trollope B 459 without her to manage for us I do not know how we should get on.

Bentley T 129 That man's calm was just deadly— I never saw anything to beat it | Shaw TT 140 seeing

nobody to attend to him he raps loudly on the counter with his stick.

15.13. Passive: Caxton R 110 I am no byrde to be locked ne take [= taken] by chaf | Bacon A 41.24 observations in urine and bloud not otherwise to be seen | Sh H4A II. 4.451 a question not to bee askt | Swift P 14 pedants who affect to talk in a language not to be understood | Cowper L 2.394 contemplate the trees so soon to be stript | Waugh W 26 The majority of people looked on an income as something to be earned. He looked on it as something to be spent | Shaw TT 96 to many soldiers a woman is no more than a jar of marmalade, to be consumed and put away | Mayne Byron 2.59 she was at present the mistress, quickly to be discarded, of Byron.

Lyly E 39 although there bee many things in Naples to be iustly condempned, yet there are some things of necessitie to bee commended | Sh Hml I. 1.130 If there be any good thing to be done | H4B V. 5.28 as if there were nothing els to bee done, but to see him | Osborne 146 there is a great advantage to bee gained in resigning | Defoe G 70 there is no good to be expected that way | Fielding 5.553 Is there nothing neat or decent to be had in this horrid place? | Austen M 71 there was nothing to be done but for Mrs. Grant to alight | Kingsley H 68 There was no time to be lost | Stevenson K 234 there is something to be said upon my side | Maugham Alt 101 There were fortunes to be made here || Cf. after *seem:* Merriman VG 136 There seemed nothing, indeed, to be said || With a preposition: Shaw P 11 There is the reading of the will to be gone through || Spectator 592 Sir Roger's servant was gone to call a coach ... the footman returned with no coach to be had | Hewlett Q 25 silently, without a cry to be heard.

15.14. Russell FO 80 labourers were hired out to anyone who had work to be done—means 'had work that should be done by others' and is thus different

from "had work to do" (where they themselves were to be the active workers).

15.15. The inf. may be separated from its primary: Maugham Alt 211 it was hard to see *what* there was in him to arouse love | ib 281 I tried to see what there was in her to have excited in Lawson such a devastating passion || Williams N 94 Not even a *grandchild* remained to take an interest in her | Allen A 25 if only *he* were not there to spoil her dream!

15.16. In vol. II I did not mention the following adjunctal infinitives.

Well to do = 'well off, living in easy circumstances' is often preposed, generally written with hyphens: *a well-to-do farmer*. The opposite is rare:

Phillpotts M 12 they are terribly ill to do.

Well to live (Sh Merch II. 2.55) is obsolete, though NED has an example (preposed) from 1897.—How is the infinitive in these combinations to be explained?

15.17. Some remarks may here be made with regard to this survey in connexion with other uses of the infinitive. The adjunctal use has some points of similarity with the infinitive of specification after adjectives, etc. (see ch. XVII). But what is more important is the relation between the adjunctal infinitive and the construction we are to consider in 15.4, the infinitive as predicative after *is: a time is to come: the time to come | this house is to let: a house to let*,—exactly as *a thing is on view: the things on view.*

In Wordsw P 8.401 »With this last relic, soon itself to fall" and similar literary expressions the probability is that the writers had in mind a full relative clause like "which was soon itself to fall".

The passive form, "A letter that was to be sent to the ladies" leads to the adjunctal use in Goldsm V 1.146 copy of a letter to be sent to the two ladies at Thornhill,—above 15.1_3.

Also the preposed infinitival adjunct is probably due

to the construction *is to* + infinitive: "this incident is never to be forgotten" leads to "a never to be forgotten incident". A rarer, and hardly colloquial, construction is seen in a letter from Lowes Dickinson in Forster 216 a satisfaction that will abide underneath the never to cease dissatisfaction which belongs to life.

Retroactive Infinitive.

15.21. We now come to deal with those cases in which an active infinitive was said to have a passive meaning (vol. II 15.841 ff., 88). Now (as in AnalSynt 17.4 and 5) I think it better to look upon the infinitive as active and as governing a preceding item as its object (its "implicit object", as NED says, *to* 11 c). Note that in grammars of other languages in which similar phenomena occur (examples in AnalSynt) such infinitives are not said to have a passive import. The formula for *the first thing to settle* thus is 21(O*) 2(I*), the two stars showing the relation between *thing* and the infinitive. Analogous "retroactive infinitives" will be found under Infinitive as Tertiary (ch. XVI and XVII). The reason why English grammars consider the active infinitive here as having passive meaning is that English in contradistinction to other languages in such cases often uses a passive infinitive form. This usage in English is connected with the rise of *is to* with an active and with a passive infinitive (see 15.3), and with the abandonment of earlier English constructions corresponding to "er liess sie töten", "han lod hende dræbe", "il la fit tuer", where also the passive form is now used in English: "he let her be killed, caused her to be killed". All this may be termed an outcome of a rationalizing tendency which may also be observed in other parts of English grammar: here the passive infinitive has seemed to the native speech-instinct more logical than the active. But full consistency has not been achieved.

15.2₂. The construction in which a transitive infinitive refers back to something preceding it which is notionally its object has its roots far back in the history of the language. I shall give some OE examples with my comments.

After *seek* we have an interesting OE example in Mat. 2.13, where the Vulgate (as Bock points out, Anglia 55.167) expressly indicates the double relation of the object to the main verb and the infinitive: "Herodes quaerat puerum ad perdendum eum", while the OE translation has only "H. secð þæt cild to forspillene". *To* has its local meaning! Bock thinks that such combinations lead to the later use of the infinitive as direct object of *seek* (seeks to destroy the child) and similar verbs—an interpretation which it is tempting to apply to the other OE examples quoted ibd., because an object is often in OE placed before an infinitive (þa þe secað mine sawle to fordonne | seceð hine to fordonne = quaerit mortificare eum). With regard to the passage in Mat. it should, however, be noted that later translations, in accordance with the Greek and Latin text, have two objects: AV: for Herode will seeke the young childe, to destroy him,—and even more explicitly in 20th Cent.: for Herod is going to search for the child, in order to put him to death.

15.2₃. An illustrative example is AS Chron. 874 þy ilcan geare hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercna rice to healdanne 'in the same year they gave a foolish thane of the king the kingdom of Mercia to hold'. Here *to healdanne* is an infinitive of purpose, but its implicit object is *M. rice*, which is the object of *sealdon*. In the same way when we say "you must give him some bread to eat" *some bread* may be said to be the object of both *give* and *eat*, or we may analyze *some bread to eat* as the object containing the infinitive as adjunct and referring back to its object: S V O^i O(1(O*)2(I*).

Modern examples (which might have been placed with the infinitive of purpose):

AV Gen 28.20 If God ... will giue me bread to eate, and raiment to put on | Di D 396 [he] inquired if I could give him anything to eat | Shaw TT 82 you gave me books to read | Maugham Alt 111 She gave him her lovely lips to kiss.

Hence after a passive:

Goldsm V 2.151 much has been given men to enjoy, yet still more to suffer | Austen M 18 the living would have been given to some friend to hold till he were old enough for orders | Ru F 100 their lives given into your hands, to save or to destroy | Stevenson T 291 he was given a lodge to keep | Butler E 67 he intimated that I should shortly have something brought me to eat.

15.2₄. This leads to *his to keep* = 'his, so that he may keep it':

Sh Tw I. 5.200 what is yours to bestowe, is not yours to reserue | AV Mark 10.40 [it] is not mine to giue | Johnson R 51 this is your own to waste or to improve | Lang T 123 if he won it thrice it would be his to keep | Locke CA 320 If her heart was hers to give, it would be all yours | Wells N 520 No human being is his own to do what he likes with | Norris S 233 she was his now, to have and to hold, to keep, to protect, and to defend | Maxwell F 94 Fernande was his to do what he pleased with | Parker R 267 all I have is yours to dispose of.

15.2₅. Retroactive after other verbs than 'give': Bacon A 10.5 his noble free offers left us nothing to aske | Maugham Pl 4.157 you're leaving me very little to say | Thack V 60 The gardener who was picking fruit to send to market | Collins W 113 The letter itself I shall keep here, to show to Sir Percival as soon as he arrives | Maugham Alt 525 finding in the bitterness of her heart wounding things to say. Cf. also without a verb Shaw TT 135 What a thing to say!

15.2₆. It is very important to remember that a verbal phrase consisting of a verb + a preposition or a verb + its object and a preposition is treated exactly like a single verb and thus in its entirety can take an object: *think of something = consider something, care for someone* and *take care of someone = love, walk with = accompany*, etc. (Note the possibility of passives like: *she was cared for, she was taken care of*, etc.). The symbol of such verbal phrases in AnalSynt is W, the infinitive I^{w}. Examples:

Russell FO 318 Seeking for slave territory to annex, President Pierce thought that Cuba afforded a suitable opportunity | Maugham Alt 481 the girl ... whom he was looking for to make his wife | Shaw TT 81 he shoots an innocent policeman because he can think of nothing more interesting to do.

15.2₇. Miscellaneous examples of retroactive infinitive adjuncts:

Sh Ant V. 2.305 that kisse Which is my heauen to haue (with other quotations vol. III 11.6_{5}) | Stevenson JHF 3 It was a nut to crack for many, what these two could see in each other | Hope Q 263 her opinion was not one to neglect | Benson DB 88 wholly enchanting, a man not to fear, but to love | Mackenzie S 1.330 War isn't anything to admire in itself | Maugham Alt 228 That's something to know | Waugh W 19 The great thing to remember is this | Christie in BDS 347 Was his story of photographs to develop a lie ...? | Allen A 143 Compared to this [wine] all else to drink was milk or water | Russell FO 78 the degradation of the peasantry was a heavy price to pay for more scientific agriculture | Myers M 234 He's the one to thank | Christie LE 86 she was child's play to manipulate | Mannin ChE 113 he inquired for the sake of something to say.

15.2₈. Examples of verbal phrases:

Stevenson V 37 a young lady eats nothing to speak of (with other quotations given vol. II 15.842) | Di D

516 he was a man to feel touched in the contemplation of | Berkeley Vane Mystery 210 We're nasty people to get into the hands of | Maugham Alt 873 R. was not a very nice man to get on the wrong side of | ib 472 [he] hankered too now for chairs to sit on and a bed to sleep in.

15.3₁. Typical examples of retroactive infinitives are frequent after expressions of mere existence: *there is* (*are*), *have* (existence in regard to the subject), *with* (= having), *without* (= not having), and *want* (= have not):

There is: Ch D 477 ther is na-more to telle | Sh Cæs IV. 3.227 there is no more to say (also Swinb L 137, etc.) | Mandv 47 there is no watre to drynke | Scott Iv 298 there was nothing to fear for his guest's life | Ward E 277 There is nothing to forgive | Benson D 2.236 there was no time to lose | Vachell H 228 There's nothing to see | Wilde D 63 there is really not much to tell | Walpole C 31 you'll find there's a good deal to arrange first | Plunket Greene E 53 There wasn't only myself to consider. There was also Lady Odell | Brontë V 388 there was a crow to pluck with him | Maugham Alt 176 when sentimentality is joined with scepticism there is often the devil to pay || Aumonier OB 103 There seemed nothing further to say.

The same in relative clauses:

Ward M 47 You've not yet seen what there is to see here | Hart BT 15 a lawyer who knows everything that there is to know about wills and trusts | Phillpotts GR 85 I'll tell him everything there is to tell | Galsw FS 348 he understood nearly all there was to understand | Borden AS 18 They could see everything about him that there was to see.

I[w]: There is nothing to rejoice at, but also nothing particular to complain of | Mason Ch 148 I ... must laugh when I find friends to laugh with ... Even though there is very little to laugh at.

15.3₂. In some of the examples with *have* the verb

has its full meaning 'possess, be in possession of', but in others the meaning is weakened, thus especially in fixed phrases such as "I have a crow to pluck with you". In "you have your bread to earn" the meaning may even be "you have no bread now", so that the saying refers to the future and more or less distinctly implies an obligation. The various nuances of these phrases in ME have been carefully investigated by W. van der Gaaf, ESts 13.176 ff. (1931), to which the reader may be referred.

Cf. also Bock, Anglia 55.164 ff., who mentions that OE has only instances with transitive infinitives, in which the object can be referred both to the finite verb and to the infinitive (fela ic hæbbe eow to secganne | ic hæbbe þe to secganne ures godes ærende | drincan þone calic þe ic to drincanne hæbbe), and that the use with intransitive infinitives is of later growth. See on this 13.5_1.

15.3₃. Modern examples of *have:* Sh John II. 1.183 I haue but this to say That ... | Defoe R 2.18 They had no more to do then | Cowper L 2.295 he must have a handkerchief for himself, to wear about his neck on Sundays | Austen M 224 you will have nothing of that sort to endure | Quincey 30 He still had his dying to do: he was in arrear as to that | Brontë V 148 you have your way to make and your bread to earn | Di D 394 "... if I were you, I wouldn't lend him anything". "My dear Copperfield, I haven't got anything to lend." | Pennell L 17 With the cat itself I had no fault to find | Nothing can be done with a corporation, because it has neither a soul to save nor a body to kick | I have a bone to pick with you.

With phrases: She has no one to care for | he has no one to walk with | He had much to struggle against and much to fight for | Marlowe E 794 I haue ioyfull news to tell thee of | Sheridan 351 I have something of importance to speak to you about | Stevenson K

36 I had myself to look to first of all | Maugham Pl 3.192 I have my self-respect to think of.

15.34. "He has money (time) to spare" leads to the frequently used phrase *enough and to spare*, as in AV Luke 15.17 ... haue bread inough and to spare | Bunyan P 5 there is enough and to spare | Zangwill G 186 There was matter and to spare for the papers the next day (cf. *spare* as a pre-adjunct: *a spare room*).

Can *further, far, somewhere* be considered the object of *have?* (Note that Bunyan does not otherwise use *have* + inf.).

Bunyan P 55 I knew I had further to go | Brontë V 38 I had not very far to look | Mannin ChE 206 Ah, but now if this war should come to pass he had somewhere to go.

15.35. In the instances quoted above the word-order is *have* + obj. + inf., but as already remarked in vol. II 15.851 there are cases in which for some reason the object is placed before the verb, as in Sh Cy IV. 2.124 What haue we to lose? | Mi PL 1.567 Awaiting what command their mighty chief Had to impose (interr. pron.) | ib 2.920 Pondering his voyage: for no narrow frith He had to cross (poetic diction). To these may be added:

Vices and V. 27 All ðat ȝe habbeð to donne | Sh H4B Epil. 5 What I have to say, is of mine owne making | Tp III. 3.86 Of my instruction hast thou nothing bated In what thou had'st to say | Devil E 524 some busines that I have to doe | Shaw TT 275 What have you to say?

For ME examples see v. d. Gaaf, p. 183 f.

15.36. As *want* is = 'not to have', or 'desire to have', we find a construction which may be said to correspond to the difference between *have something to write* and *have to write something:*

She wants someone to love.

She wants to love someone.

Shaw TT 84 I want something sensible to do | Maugham Alt 494 He fearfully wanted something to smoke.

Also after the substantive *want:* for want of something to do.

15.37. *With* or *without:* Di Do 2 married to a lady with no heart to give him | Merrick C 27 a young professional man with nothing to do | Waugh W 293 She ought to marry a young man with his way to make | Moore EW 29 The father's drinking left the Saunders family with little to eat || without anything to do (for lack of anything better to do) | Collins M 369 For the first time ... I found old Betteredge in my company without a word to say to me.

With a phrase (I^w): With no relatives to fall back upon | Bennett A 131 I wonder you find time to notice it—with all this place to see after | Shaw A 189 Marry some sentimental hog or other with lots of money, and a thick pair of lips to kiss you with and a thick pair of boots to kick you with | Wells JP 506 Why be faithful with no one to be faithful to?

(Cf. also Ch A 234 ful of knyves And pinnes, for to yeven faire wyves.)

15.38. Let us return to theoretical considerations: In justification of the view found in many grammars that the active infinitive here termed retroactive is passive in meaning, it may be said that when we leave out *there* in "she did what there was to do" (Hewlett F 131) it is necessary to say "what was to be done". Note also the sentence quoted in vol. II 15.88 Ward E 20 "there was so much to see at Florence. No—pardon me!—there is nothing to be seen in Florence"—and the contrast between "I have no husband to irritate me and no children to bring up" or between "he was left with only his daughter to care for him" and "he was left with only his daughter to care for".

Cf. also Chesterton B 1 On the subject of Browning's work innumerable things have been said and remain to be said; of his life, there is little or nothing to say.

The paradox remains that though *to lose* and *to be lost* generally are contrasts, they mean practically the same thing in *there was no time to lose* and *there was no time to be lost.* In some cases a distinction may be made, though it is not always clearly observed: there was nothing to do there (= nothing to occupy us), there was nothing to be done there (nothing that should (or could) be done) | there was nothing to see there (nothing worth seeing), there was nothing to be seen there (nothing that could be seen, nothing visible) | on this subject there is something to say at this point (something that may be said), on this subject there is something to be said at this point (that ought to be said).

If we say that such infinitives are taken in the passive sense, we are involved in difficulties in some cases: "there is nothing (we have nothing) to fear"; if *to fear* is here considered = 'to be feared', what then about the synonymous expression "there is nothing (we have nothing) to be afraid of"? What is the passive of *be afraid?*

15.3₉. Sometimes we find various constructions combined (cf. vol. II 15.86): Di OT 36 The boy had no friends to care for, or to care for him | Carpenter P 61 one of the very first things to do, and to be done at once | Stephen L 20 I have one person less to believe in me and one person less to reverence | Plunket Greene E 216 A woman like Brenda must have someone: someone to love her, and someone to love | Mackenzie S 621 [tennis] there were always four little boys to pick up the balls and at least three dozen balls to be picked up | Gordon God's Remnants 23 There was no one to ask, no one to guide him; there was nothing to be relied upon save the elusive mockery of chance | Salt Joy 174 There was the letter to finish. And after that there was nothing to be done | Mannin CD 103 there are good things yet to do, and good things to be seen.

The Infinitive as a Secondary Predicative.

15.41. The construction *is to* with an infinitive which we have to deal with here is different from the predicative mentioned above under primaries: *to see her is to love her* (11.2).

1. Retroactive Infinitives.

Such infinitives having reference to a preceding item as their object are frequent in OE after *beon* and generally imply necessity or obligation. For examples see Morgan Callaway p. 98 ff., e. g. Wulfstan: hwæt him to donne sy and hwæt to forlætanne | ðas feower sinoðas syndon to healdanne | ðonne is ðærtoeacan gyt to understandenne, ðæt we ....

As OE examples are very scarce in poetry and original prose, whereas they are found in great numbers in translations from Latin, Callaway p. 200 f. thinks that the construction cannot be organic, but must be due to Latin influence as rendering Latin *sum* + gerundive or similar Latin constructions.

15.42. Comparatively few traces of this use have survived in ModE.

To blame is very frequent: Ch T 3.1085 | Sh Hml V. 2.331 and often | Austen P 120 Mr. Darcy is not in the least to blame | Di N 616 I am not to blame (also Doyle S 5.189, Hope D 86, etc.) | Hardy R 404 I fear I am something to blame in this | Caine E 372 I have been much to blame.—He is to blame S(O*) V P(I*).

From this is derived the use in a dependent nexus: Gissing B 423 whether you think yourself to blame | Russell FO 489 Holstein supposed Eulenburg to blame.

Cf. also Shaw A 172 anything might happen to anybody and nobody to blame.

But examples of the passive may also be found:

Lyly E 49 whether of them was most to be blamed | North 255 he was not to be blamed | Boswell 1.318

he is not to be blamed | Goldsm V 1.64 he is no more to be blamed ... than ... —He is to be blamed S V P(I^b).

Some writers use both forms, seemingly without any difference:

Macaulay H 1.113 The Houses are scarcely to be blamed | id E 5.140 He soon found that his old friends were less to blame than he had supposed | McCarthy 2.158 The most devoted champion of the freedom of religious worship is not to be blamed if he ... | ib 2.228 there is nothing to blame in the conduct of the English.

15.43. Further *to let:* House to let | the house is to let.

In a dependent nexus: Stevenson K 108 He declares all the farms to let.

As a post-adjunct with an adverb: Maugham MS 72 it no longer bore that deserted look, like a furnished house long to let.

This formula survives, because there is no convenient substantive which could have taken its place in the same way as "for sale" has been substituted for the old "to sell" as found in

Ch C 564 the white wyn of Lepe, That is to selle in Fysshstrete, or in Chepe.

Cf. Sweet NEG 2325: "We still keep up this passival use in the phrase *a house to let;* but as we cannot do this with other verbs, we have to use the passive form in such constructions as *this house is to be let or sold*, whence there is a tendency to say *a house to be let*".

Hardy L 47 a house which ... was to be let.

15.44. *To seek* is used chiefly, though not exclusively, in the formula "far to seek":

Carpenter P 17 a reason for this failure is not far to seek | Russell P 66 the causes were not far to seek | Gissing H 61 she murmured that the reason was not far to seek || Ch A 784 Our counseil was not longe for to seeke | Hawthorne S 185 the occasion was not long to seek | Austen M 116 while a play was still to seek | Raleigh S 38 the end is yet to seek.

Cp. Fr. la cause est encore à chercher, It. la causa è ancora da cercare.

In a learned disquisition, EStn 29.93 ff., Stoffel shows how *to seek* became a "kind of phrasal predicative adjective, with the senses of 'absent', 'at a loss (for)', 'destitute of knowledge or experience', followed by the prepositions *of, for, in*".

But we have an ordinary object with the infinitive in the old-fashioned:

Osborne 38 I am to seeke who the gallant should be (= I don't know). Cf. Stevenson K 190 But for the details of our itinerary, I am all to seek.

The passive form must be used in "the reason for all this is not to be sought in political ignorance".

15.45. *To do* is not infrequently used in connexion with (*over*) *again;* but even this is nowadays hardly used in colloquial speech, where the phrase is "if the thing had to be done again":

Lamb E 2.181 if the thing were to do over again | Brontë V 26 and there it will be all to do over again | Macaulay H 2.202 he replied that, if the thing were to do again, he would do it | Hewlett Q 10 All was to do again—but all could be done | Kipling J2 120 the talk is all to do over again—once, twice, twenty times.

Outside this combination retroactive *to do* is quite obsolete:

Ch HF 361 But that is doon (pple), nis not to done (inf.) | Marlowe J 298 What's here to doe? | Sh Hml IV. 4.44 this thing's to doe | Mcb V. 7.27 The day almost it selfe professes yours, and little is to do.

Note the somewhat different use in Brontë W 108 What has there been to do at the Grange? We've odd reports up here | Kipling P 103 What is to do? | Caine C 395 What's to do (= What's the matter?) (*To do* as a substantive: What a to-do! A great to-do).

15.46. *To compare* in Hunt A 116 the house ... was not to compare with my beloved one in the City |

Ritchie M 99 they were very nice, but nothing to compare to these—should probably be taken as an activo-passive, cf. vol. III 16.8.

The usual phrase is: "this is not to be compared with . . .".

15.47. *What's to pay?* may still be heard colloquially (cf. Maugham Pl 4.91 Whatever there's to pay I must pay it), but hardly the preterit as in Fielding T 3.176 to let him know what was to pay.

Cf. the vg phrase: There'll be the devil [or, hell] to pay.

Other obsolete infinitives where now the passive would be used: Ch T 4.117 [he] seyde that [= 'what'] was to seye | id B 4253 dremes been to drede (also B 4299, G 437) | Sh John I. 1.259 were I to get again [= 'were I to be begotten again'; note *again* as in *to do again*] | Alls IV. 3.257 Men are to mell with, boyes are not to kis | Sonn 129 not to trust.

Retroactive infinitives are found in connexion with the adverbs *yet* and *still:* Shelley P 225 Rome and Naples—even Florence are yet to see (= we have not yet seen; *are yet to be seen* would mean 'can still be seen') | Carlyle G 125 The roses are indeed still to plant.

Cf. the synonymous *remain*, which may be used both with an active and a passive inf.: Wells TB 1.275 I may perhaps tell what there remains to tell of Marion | Bennett P 72 (and B 88) that remains to be seen.

2. Non-retroactive.

15.51. Alongside of this use of *is to*-infinitive with reference to a preceding object we now have the same construction in a different way, and in course of time this has become so frequent that it must now be considered its normal use. Examples occur in OE, though they are far less common than retroactive ones, see Morgan Callaway, p. 102 ff. As the phenomenon occurs much more

frequently with *cuman* than with other verbs (Eart ðu ðe to cumenne eart = Tu es qui venturus es?), W Klöpzig is undoubtedly right when he says (EStn 56.382) that *is to cumenne* is to a great extent due to the synonymous construction with the present participle of the verb *tocuman: tocumende* and *to cumenne* are neither phonetically nor semantically easy to keep distinct. In early ME, too, *is to come(n)* according to W. v. d. Gaaf is practically the only combination found in this way. He counted upwards of forty instances, but did not find the "active" sense of other infinitives till Wyclif and Purvey. Klöpzig, however, gives some (from Barbour's Bruce and Robert of Gloucester; but his examples from Ancrene Riwle and Prick of Conscience do not belong here: "þæs ficeleres mester is to wrien", *to wrien* is a primary: 'the business of a flatterer is (it is the b. of the f.) to cover, etc.' The same mistake occurs in some of Klöpzig's examples from Sh).

The OE construction with a dative as in Ælfric H. 1.254 Us is to smeaganne ðæt word (W. v. d. Gaaf, ESts 13.180)—is certainly one of the sources of the idiom. Just as "me wære betere don" becomes, on the one hand "I were better do" and on the other "I had better do", in the same way "me is to donne" becomes "I am to do" and "I have to do".

15.5₂. It is perhaps not easy to account for the origin of the *is to*-combination, but anyhow it becomes increasingly common in the ModE period, with which we are chiefly concerned in the present work.

What does *is to* mean? It rarely denotes a simple future, except with *come:* Ch I 1063 the shame that is to come at the day of dome (also id T 4.1047, 1055, 1064, 1065) | the worst is still to come; cf. also NP 1933 there will doubtless be more *to follow* before long, —and with *soon:* the book is soon to become available in a cheap edition.

15.5₃. Otherwise the phrase generally denotes pre-

determination. This may be due to the will of Providence, as in "This was not to be" | "What is to become of her?" | Sheridan 20 When an old bachelor marries a young wife, what is he to expect? | Buley Australian Life 39 a fatalist with a creed of 'what is to be will be'.

Cf. further in hypothetical conditions "if we were to die to-morrow", vol. IV 10.3(3).

15.5₄. In most cases, however, the construction implies a human will different from that of the subject of the sentence. Thus *you are to* is often the equivalent of an order:

Bacon A 7 Yee are to know, that the custome of the land requireth, that ... you are to keepe within dores for three daies | Sh H4B II. 1.199 you are to take souldiers vp in counties.

The same transposed into indirect speech:

Haggard S 18 I was to destroy all the contents. On no account was I to pass them on to strangers | Hardy R 426 he had cautioned Fairway not to ask for an answer. If one were handed to him he was to bring it immediately; if not, he was to go straight home.

A negative order is equivalent to a prohibition:

Austen P (p. ?) No officer is ever to enter my house again | Hope Ch 243 you are not to say such things.

Somewhat differently in

Goldsm V 2.199 I find then that I am to expect no justice here.

15.5₅. A general arrangement is indicated in instances like the following:

Sh Mcb II. 1.42 And such an instrument I was to vse | Bacon A 6 the other 15 chambers were to lodge us two and two together | Defoe G 68 one [son] is untaught because he is to have the estate, and the other is educated because he is to make his fortune; the last is to be prepar'd to liv by his witts, and the other is to have no wits.

A plan is also implied in "We are to meet there 7". A plan in the past is indicated in

Hunt A 22 My mother was to follow my father soon as possible, which she was not able to do for mar months | Macaulay H 1.230 They were at that mome planning a scheme for setting fire to all the shippi in the Thames. They were to rise at a signal and ma sacre all their Protestant neighbours. A French arm was at the same time to land in Ireland. All the leadi statesmen and divines of England were to be murdere

To indicate expressly that a plan was not carrie out, we have the combination *was to have* with th second participle, see vol. IV 10.8(7). Cf. vol. IV 22 (after-past).

15.5₆. A question in the first person generally in plies "... do you want me to ...?": What am I t do? | Where am I to go? | Am I to stand here for ever | Am I to understand that you won't pay? | Fieldin T 4.17 How often am I to suffer for your folly?

"How am I to know that?" is = "How do you sup pose that I can possibly know?".

15.5₇. Note the use in an *if*-clause:

You must tell me the exact truth if we are to remai friends [= if you want us to r. f.] | Shaw P 264 If am to command here, I am going to do what I like not what you like | NP 1939 if Fascism is to be defeate it must be by anti-Fascists.

15.5₈. With a passive infinitive the meaning ofte corresponds to the one prevalent with an active in finitive (prearrangement, dependence on another' will), so that *is to* may be considered a weak 'must'

Eastw 426 Am I not to bee married ... now I an to be a ladie | Lyly E 64 loue in neyther respecte i to be condempned | Sh Cæs I. 2.211 I rather tell the what is to be fear'd Then what I feare | Ado III. 5.4 God is to bee worshipt | ib IV. 1.97 Fie, fie, they ar not to be named, my Lord, Not to be spoken of | Johi

IV. 3.217 when the last account ... Is to be made | Swift J 360 I advised him what was to be done | Defoe G 69 'tis not to be wondred at that ... | Thack N 166 the great and wealthy are not always to be envied | it is to be hoped, presumed, etc. || Collins W 306 The letters to the lawyer and to Mr. Fairlie were still to be written (= still remained unwritten).

In the following quotation *are* has the pregnant meaning exist', and the infinitive is one of purpose; but it shows one of the ways in which the idiom *is to* may have arisen:

Lyly C 306 starres are to be looked at, not reached at, princes to be yeelded vnto, not contended with; Campaspe to be honoured, not obtained.

15.59. On the other hand, with a passive infinitive *is to* may (differently from the use in the active) imply possibility or permissibility = 'can' or 'may':

Such things are to be seen (heard, found) any day | something is to be said in favour of this opinion | he was not to be moved by threats or violence | it is not to be thought of | he is not to be trusted | More U 109 it is not to be hoped for | Massinger N I. 1.165 Wounds of this nature are not to be cur'd with balmes | Defoe G 57 as they are not to be sold, so remember they are not to be bought | Scott Iv 181 he was nowhere to be found | Austen M 65 I do not know how it was to have been done better (= could have been done) | Galsw Ca 461 Leman, whose long figure was often to be seen seated on the wooden bench.

This meaning is always connected with the passive of *have:*

Deloney 49 take Fortunes fauours while they are to be had | Ruskin U 43 no servants are to be had.

"This is to be endured" generally = 'must be endured', but "this is not to be endured" = 'cannot be endured'.

15.61. While, as we have seen 13.5$_5$, *have to*-infinitive is freely used in all tenses and moods, there are some

restrictions to the use of *am to*. *I have* (*had*) *been to* seems never to be used; *being to* is nowadays avoided though it was formerly used to some extent; *be to* both as an infinitive and as a subjunctive is very rare indeed (cf. Di D 184 it startled me, too, if I am to [not: if I be to] tell the truth). Examples of these rare forms:

Defoe R 2.198 till now, when being to talk to Heathens, he wanted the help of the written oracle | Swift J 384 he could not dine with us to-day, being to dine with Prince Eugene | Spect 462 I heard reports of my being to be married to two or three different young women | Bosw 1.384 Being to set out for Scotland on the 10th of November, I wrote ... | Austen M 171 he was going away immediately, being to meet his uncle at Bath without delay | Di P 573 the doubt of fresh horses being to be had at the next stage || Sh H6B II. 3.28 I see no reason, why a King of yeeres Should be to be protected like a child | Mi A 12 But that a book ... should be to stand before a jury ere it be borne to the world ... was never heard before | Defoe M 260 if I should be to relate, or you to hear, my unfortunate history | Wordsw Lit 24 no words ... will be to be compared with those which are the emanations of reality and truth || Lamb E 2.178 if a process comparable to flaying alive be to be gone through.

Have been to with an inf. of purpose below 16.4_1.

15.62. As already remarked *have to* now often takes the place of an earlier *am to*. Commentators thus explain *I am to say* in Sh Wint III. 2.20 Since what I am to say, must be but that which contradicts my accusation—as = 'have to'.

A survival of the old use is found in Ireland: I be to = I have to (Joyce Ir 87).

15.63. *Have to* generally denotes a much stronger necessity than *am to*. It is in accordance with this that *have* is nearly always stressed, whereas *I am to* becomes

I'm to, you are to: you're to, and *he is to: he's to go,* etc. Both verbs are placed together in:

Di N 44 the little boys had to be got up to the top of the coach, and their boxes had to be brought out and put in, and Mr. Squeers's luggage was to be seen carefully deposited in the boot | Kingsley H 364 He could recollect nothing but that something dreadful was to happen—and that he had to prevent it | Locke FS 106 If I say a thing is to be done, it has got to be done | Masefield M 245 "you'll have to try something else". What else was he to try? | Priestley G 482 What there was to be done had to be done | Moore EW 295 it was to be, and what has to be has to be ... I felt it was to be all along.

On the infinitive as a secondary with the same meaning as in *is to* in a tertiary combination 3(SI) see 19.5.

Chapter XVI.

The Infinitive as Tertiary.

In this and the following chapter we shall consider the use of an infinitive as a tertiary. The formula is 3(I), but in those cases in which the preposition *to* is felt to retain its usual force we might write 3(pI); as, however, a preposition with its regimen generally is a tertiary the numeral 3 is often omitted in AnalSynt, in which I have written pl(I), see 18.1 and 2. These variations are really insignificant.

Infinitive of Direction.

16.11. First we shall take cases in which the usual meaning of the preposition *to*, movement or direction to or towards a goal, physical or psychic, is still more or less clearly perceptible.

The use is often indistinguishable from the infinitive of purpose, 16.4.

In many cases there is competition between *to* + infinitive and *to* + gerund, cf. 8.2_4. Gerunds are here generally placed after ||.

After verbs of motion: Fielding 4.2 He proceeded to inform me, that ... | I hastened to accept.

16.1₂. Verbs of motion in weakened or transferred meanings:

What qualities go to make a great man? | NED 1850 two things go to render this statement worthless.

Note the temporal meaning of *is going to*, see vol. IV 14.2.

Swift P 71 How came he to get this employment? [= now: How did he come to ...] | Ruskin C 54 Do justice to your brother ... and you will come to love him | Maugham Pl 3.320 Now I come to think of it, I should like to see her [frequently with prosiopesis: *Come to think of it*, cf. vol. III 11.8_{73}] | Williams N 56 Colette, indeed, had little reason, come to think of it, to love her parents | NP 1934 evolution as a general term for the process whereby things not only are but come to be, and indeed have their being in the process of coming to be.

In this way *came to* becomes an expression of after-past time, see vol. IV 22.2(6) and Russell FO 139 the Benthamites were not atheists, but came to be called agnostics.

On the rare *getting to* = going to, see vol. IV 14.2(4).

With the gerund: Beresford G 256 in the last few months he came to disapproving certain passages of the New Testament | Hope Q 180 they had come to corresponding occasionally | Quiller-Couch M 91 when it came to asking leave to open an account | Maugham Alt 254 but when it comes to marrying them—(always gerund after *it*).

16.1₃. Compare *come* (and *go*) *near to:* Merriman S

45 this incident came very near to bring about the catastrophe | Stevenson K 129 the very sight of it came near to sicken me | Hawthorne S 260 The sailor of that day would go near to be arraigned as a pirate in our own || Macdonald in Franklin 273 the journey went near to killing him | NP 1923 a half-truth that comes very near to being a whole fallacy.

(Cf. without *to:* Kingsley H 212 I was fearfully near becoming Christian | Stevenson K 248 Again he came near sobbing | id T 131 he came nigh-hand fainting when he heard the cry.)

16.14. *fall:* Swift 3.103 I fell to eat | id T 13 they fell again to rummage the will || Di D 56 Peggotty fell to kissing the keyhole | Ward M 68 She fell to humming a little French tune | Galsw Ca 3 he fell again to thinking | Kaye Smith T 83 So he fell to blaming Morgan | Kipling K 369 they fell to wondering how ....

get (intransitive): Swinburne L 192 fellows do get to be such fools | how did you get to know him (here never *-ing*) || Twain H 1.105 she got to talking about her husband.—Transitive Caine P 151 She could not be got to leave the house.

16.15. *lead:* Coleridge B 51 the circumstance which first led him to meditate on this subject | Spencer A 1.416 I was led to recognize the fact | Shaw C 106 your courage will only lead you to stand up | Bennett A 91 that idea led her to think of the prospective partnership.

bring: Scott Iv 198 he could not bring himself to acknowledge the son | Hardy L 144 Joanna could never bring herself to rub them [the words] out || James S 112 he was verily brought, from one thing to another, to recognising that it was old.

drive: Sh H4B II. 4.338 I shall driue you then to confesse the wilfull abuse | Bennett W 2.162 she was

driven to admit that ... || Wells H 406 are they sometimes driven to buying things in shops?

direct: Macaulay H 2.34 Churchill was therefore directed to confine himself to thanks || Bentley T 220 his whole plan must have been directed to producing the belief that ....

set: Meredith (NED) She set herself to study it || London M 387 it might have set him to speculating about her state of consciousness | I set myself to examining the evidence. Cf. *set about.*

motion: He motioned her to sit down.

press: Green H 1463 his ministers pressed James to give way.

Cf. he condemned (forced, compelled) her to lead a dreary life.

All these form a transition to the construction V O(S_2I) 'accusative with infinitive', see ch. XVIII.

16.1₆. The idea of motion is also seen in some phrases: Cowper L 2.303 he has no possible *way* to get his money again | Hope Ch 145 important events were in the way to happen || Hewlett F 105 he did not see his way to involving the Abbot | Matthews F 79 I see my way to making some money.

16.2₁. Words denoting inclination, disinclination and similar ideas:

inclined: Sh Tp II. 1.193 they are inclin'd to do so (but *sleep* may be the substantive ib I. 2.185 Thou art inclinde to sleepe) | Mackenzie C 22 her mother was inclined to think she was lucky || Fielding T 3.162 he was more inclined to eating than to sleeping.—A strong inclination to run away (also *for -ing*).

bent: Bacon A 20.21 he was wholly bent to make his kingdome and people happy || now: *bent on -ing.*

disposed: he is disposed (his disposition) to take offence.

given to: North 256 such as are zealously giuen to thinke on heauenly things | GE M 2.103 Tom was not given to inquire subtly into his own motives | Kingsley

H 12 Lancelot was very much given to watch the weather || Allen W 35 Alan was given to sketching.

tend: this measure tends to increase trade | loud-speakers tend to become a nuisance || Carpenter LC 85 we see also forces at work which are tending to reaction, and to bringing the two nearer to each other (rare, here on account of the preceding substantive). —A tendency to lie.

take (only the ger.): he took to gambling | Boswell 2.93 if a physician were to take to eating of horse-flesh | James S 54 You don't mean she has taken to drink? [sb.!].—She has taken to flirting.

aspire: Bennett ECh 81 He aspired, indeed, to be fully civilised | NP 1910 Do you aspire to become an author?

strive: He strives to be impartial.

devote (hardly with an infin.): Byron L 257 I should devote whatever resources I can muster of my own, to advancing the great object | NP 1925 he will devote the rest of his life to carrying on an active propaganda.

consent: Macaulay H 2.10 He readily consented to put his life in peril for his prince | Galsw Frat 244 I will not consent to be a drag on anyone || Galsw P 12.62 I will not consent to holding my tongue.

reconcile: Phillpotts GR 84 Mary will never reconcile herself to live here || Shaw D 166 reconcile the community to killing him.

resign: Collins W 112 I resigned myself to make the best of it || ger. common.

condescend: He condescended to listen to us.

16.2₂. *object:* Di F 685 to object to be stared at | Collins W 379 whether I would object to give the ladies the benefit of my assistance | Gissing B 512 we object to pass Sundays in a state of coma | Shaw M 82 She objected to marry a Jew (thus extremely often) || Di P 259 I object to saying anything which

may compromise that lady | id F 103 as a two-footed creature I object to being constantly referred to insects and four-footed creatures | Mason Ch (p. ?) he objected to being in a quandary.

Cf. the substantive *objection:* Kingsley H 343 he had no great *objection*, but also no great wish, to fight | Austen M 107 you will have no objection to join us | Di P 622 I've no objection to take you that way | Thack P 145 Mr. Bows had not the least objection to acknowledge that he thought . . . | Shaw D 230 Cecil's objection to go through with it || I have no objection to doing it myself.

averse: Scott OM 120 she would have been much averse to exert this influence | Thack P 784 he was . . . averse to believe that he had executed any dangerous ravages on that particular one | Galsw Frat 57 the other reason that made him not averse to go and visit Mrs. Hughs || Thack P 19 To fighting he was averse from his earliest youth. — Many people think (from theoretical considerations which are not shared by H. W. Fowler MEU) that *to* is wrong after *averse;* they prefer *from:* Maxwell S 144 they were averse from defying it | Rose Macaulay P 45 [dictating a letter to Jane] Lord Pinkerton is not comma however comma averse to (Jane wrote 'from') entertaining your suggestions | Bennett RS 324 much averse from returning into the office.

16.2₃. *submit:* Quincey 286 people will not submit to have their throats cut quietly | Di M 201 he submitted to be led away | Trollope W 138 she could not submit to sacrifice her self-respect || he will not submit to being separated from her.

yield: Sh Lr IV. 3.42 [he] by no meanes will yeeld to see his daughter.

reduce: Johnson L 3.225 reduced to appear as an actor | Galsw IPh 139 they were reduced to beg or starve || he was reduced to selling his car.

16.2₄. *accustom*, etc.: Southey L 86 you have accustomed yourself to talk affectionately | Mackenzie C 91 People were not accustomed to give Jenny reasons || Bennett ECh 232 persons thoroughly accustomed to seeing their names in newspapers | Masefield C 163 he's accustomed to being ordered by gentlemen | Hankin 2.110 I'm so unaccustomed to having to manage Margery.

With the passive perhaps rather: I'm accustomed to being accused of disloyalty.

An English friend: I am accustomed to act or to acting—no difference.

used to: Mitford OV 67 In former years I have been used to watch them | Di D 124 the young mother of my earliest impressions, who had been used to wind her bright curls round and round her finger || Mitford OV 82 who had besides been so used to nursing the old man | Shaw C 160 any one who is used to being paid for a job | McKenna M 265 he was grown used over many years to having her as a confidant | Galsw Ca 429 he was too used to receiving practically nothing from his books | Locke A 136 He was used to finding himself cut off from the means of livelihood | London V 204 Billy had been used to drinking three cups. — Infinitive seems old-fashioned.

The same idea expressed in other ways:

More U 238 leagues betwene princes be *wont* to be kept and obserued very slenderly (obsolete) | Di D 162 I had *grown* to be so accustomed to the Micawbers | Bennett H 101 you have never *trained* your ears to listen to details | Shaw TT 78 Youre a real lady: youre *broken in* to be dull.

16.2₅. The idea of movement inherent in *to* is sometimes strengthened by the use of *into*, which requires the gerund:

NP 1913 he bewilders that gentleman into accepting the illuminated address prepared for his chief | NP

Her vanity led her into believing that he really meant what he said [= led her to believe ..] | he provoked me into striking him.

16.3₁. Various other verbs combined with *to* + inf. or ger.:

look: Sh H5 IV. 1.100 men wrackt vpon a sand, that looke to be washt off the next tyde | Di X 18 look to see me no more | Huxley L 2.4 I shall hereafter look to be treated as a person of respectability | Trollope B 358 Mr. Slope is looking to be the new dean | Oppenheim People's Man 54 I am looking forward, down at Lynwood, to have you, if you will, talk to me seriously || Maugham P 212 She looked forward to arriving there with horror | Letter: I shall look forward to seeing you in Bex.

Cf. the phrase *with a view:*

Swift 3.216 with a *view* to prevent such a catastrophe | Boswell 2.4 chiefly with a view to see Dr. Johnson (also ib 182) || Brontë V 191 with a view to studying this ... gipsy-queen | Collins M 270 merely with a view to arriving at results | Russell Ed 48 We cannot frame our education with a view to giving every one the temperament of a poet | Galsw T 78 with a view to avoiding what we should all regret (frequent in Galsw; one English friend tells me that *with a view to facilitate research* is more colloquial, and ... *facilitating r.* more literary; but this is not recognized by everybody.

(Rarely with *of:* Di P 567 with a view of rousing his friend to a sense of his situation.)

16.3₂. *bind:* Allen W 53 I can't bind myself down to live with him | he is bound to come.

contribute: Goldsm V 2.91 contribute to make your lives more happy | Lamb E 2.189 they have contributed not a little to mislead us | Stevenson T 108 the mad notions that contributed so much to save our lives || this contributed to making him popular.

provoke: More U 63 we prouoke them to kyll good men | he was provoked to strike (or striking) out.
limit: I limit myself to stating the fact.
entitled: Dreiser F 144 she was young and pretty and was entitled to change her mind.

After *confess* and *own* we have either the infinitive as object or *to* with ing:

He confesses to have forged the cheque || Doyle M 175 I must confess to feeling flurried | Galsw Ca 478 I confess to looking at her with a wonder (this is now the usual construction) | she owned to have been completely baffled || Hardy F 76 He owned to having carried off five sack altogether | Hope R 104 Sapt would not own to sharing our worst apprehensions | Merrick MG 28 she owned to having fainted.

He *pleaded guilty* to stealing the watch.

The Infinitive of Purpose.

16.4₁. From instances in which *to* obviously denotes direction, the transition is easy to those in which the *to*-infinitive is used to express purpose, aim, or intention. First after verbs of motion:

Sh Cæs III. 2.79 I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him | Hml II. 2.225 you goe to seeke my Lord Hamlet | I went to see my aunt on Saturday | He came here to see me, not you || Di F 149 she had been to see the girl | Holmes A 134 The Professor has been to see me (cf. He has been to Paris; only with the perfect and pluperfect; this is different from the use in "he is to see me", see 15.5_1).

16.4₂. In former times *to* was not necessary after *go:*

Sh Gent I. 1.159 I must goe send some better messenger (frequent in Sh) | Osborne 85 I had the grace to goe heare a sermon | Rehearsal 65 let's go see | Swift J 199 I design in two days, if possible, to go lodge at Chelsea (frequent in 18th c.).

A survival of this usage is *go hang* (= go to the devil):

Sh Tp II. 2.56 she ... Would cry to a sailor, goe hang ... let her goe hang | Bennett LR 148 the world-war can go hang | Shaw 1.4 They may go hang themselves (Now perhaps more literary than colloquial).

Even apart from this phrase, *go* and *come* with the bare infinitive are found here and there, chiefly in colloquial or even vulgar speech; as this seems to be found chiefly after the infinitive and the imperative, it is felt to be short for *go (come) and:*

Di Do 305 [vg] I'll go buy something to eat and drink | Brontë W 89 I put on my bonnet to go see how all was at the farm | Kipling J 2.95 let them go find a fresh lair | Shaw M 145 [a cockney:] I'll go tell the young lady | ib 163 [educated young man:] I must go wash my face | Kipling V 215 Take up the White Man's Burden ... Go bind your sons to exile.

This is pretty frequent in recent American books; cf. the familiar expression *a go-getter.*

16.4s. The infinitive of purpose (with *to*) is frequent after other verbs as well:

We eat to live, but do not live to eat | I wrote to tell them of the happy event | This is to inform you that Mabel and I got married yesterday | I remained there to see what had happened | He works hard to keep his family in comfort | Don't trouble to dress | Di Do 323 the carriage was waiting at the door to take them out | Wells OH 214 But he [Confucius] died to live | Mackenzie C 87 Yes, murmured Jenny, the sooner to be out of Madame's reach | Maugham Pl 2.6 I wish I had been there to hear | Chesterton (q) When we go to the theatre we pay to be deceived | What would I not give to see her again? | He struggled (exerted himself) to get free | He set about to arrange his papers.

This is frequent after *as if* and *as though:* he opened his lips as if to make some reply | Maugham Pl 4.47 Teddy is making as though to leave the room.

In the following quotation the negative is curiously shifted from the verb to the object of the infinitive: Di P 408 The Prince remained to hear no more [= 'did not remain']. He fled the spot.

As the idea of purpose is not essential it is now more usual to say *sit reading* in a case like Stevenson M 81 he sat in the arbour to read a book.

16.44. The idea of purpose may be strengthened in various ways; formerly *for to* was used: AV Mat. 11.7 What went ye out into the wilderness to see ... But what went ye out for to see? Now the most usual way is by adding *in order;* the oldest example in NED of *in order to* is from 1711; an older one is Milton SA 1608 where all the lords ... might sit in order to behold (or 'sit in good order'?).—Defoe R 2.105 embarking again, in order to be gone | Spect 470 In order to exert this principle ....

This should be compared with *in order that* (with a clause) and with the formerly frequent use of *in order to* (*for*) followed by a substantive or pronoun:

Cromwell 1656 in Paul Famous Speeches 4 Now in order to this, to the being and subsistence of these nations ... | Spect 119 in order to which, they must endeavour ... | Swift 3.245 to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe | Johnson in Bosw 1.185 To rise early, and in order to it, to go to sleep early | Defoe M 113 in order to my having interest for it [my money] | GE S 10 waiting only for a little increase to their mutual savings in order to their marriage || Defoe Rox 72 to take a house somewhere in the country in order for health | Fielding 5.458 in order for my relief | Carpenter LC 12 in order for a perfect intimacy between two people their bodies must be free to each other.

16.45. Other expressions of related meaning are seen in

Defoe R 2.196 an express messenger came from

Heaven *on purpose* to bring that individual book | Di P 243 Here Mr. Magnus took off his spectacles, on purpose to wink | Lamb E 1.182 John smiled, *as much as* to say, "that would be foolish indeed" | Thack P 23 the hostler ... winked to the postilion ominously, as much as to say all was over | Brontë V 371 I was just drawing the spring-bolt of the street-door, *in act to* issue forth, when ....

Cp. Sh Ado I. 2.12 thou *goest about* to [= you endeavour to] apply a morall medicine | NP 1925 Shaw is of course a convinced socialist; but in this book he is not *out* to make proselytes.

16.4ε. As an infinitive of purpose we may perhaps reckon the frequent use with *help:*

Harraden S 84 will you come and help me to develop some photographs? | Shaw 2.149 we have no visitors to help us to slice the onions.

Here we find also the bare infinitive. The omission of *to* according to NED is found from the 16th cent. and is now dial. or vulgar. Neither assertion seems quite correct, as the following quotations show:

Gamelyn 478 Helpeth brynge Gamelyn out of prison | Di Do 50 just help me lift the little sofa | Philips L 29 You might help Sir Thomas look after my luggage | Ward E 197 she did her best to help him throw off his misgivings | Maugham Pl 2.319 [Canadian:] I'll come and help you put the mare in | ib 3.62 [Amr. girl:] Come and help me get the rolls out.

The object of *help* is often understood; the inf. generally has no *to;* thus often in U. S.:

Defoe Rox 16 have you helped bring this family slur upon us? | Kipl J2 72 go with them and help make that song | Wells L 117 You helped find us out | Norris O 98 the railroad has helped increase the value of your ranches | Galsw P 9.72 to help let die a fire | Allen A 159 Miss Florence broke in and was permitted

to help explain || Sh Hml III. 2.57 Will you two helpe to hasten them? | Austen M 18 he must help to pay the pleasures.

(The examples show that it is not correct when some grammarians say that the bare infinitive is found only when *help* itself is in the infinitive.)

16.47. An infinitive of purpose is also found after *make:*

Swinnerton S 35 She made her own clothes, and made them to last [so that they might last]—different from "made them last" (on which see 18.4_1). In the passive however (where we have "the watch was made to go" corresponding to "he made the watch go"), the two constructions are formally indistinguishable, though the meaning is totally different.

Marlowe H 1.223 Nor heauen, nor thou, were made to gaze upon | Sh Ven 163 Torches are made to light, iewels to weare, Dainties to taste, . . . and sappie plants to beare | Wilde S 1 Women are made to be loved, not to be understood | Hart BT 16 silver slippers that were made for dancing on feet that were made to dance.

Therefore the unusual (half-biblical) use of *to* in the following passages is apt to cause ambiguity:

Ruskin F 31 the Spirit that makes the grass to grow | id T 112 balms which . . . made not only the eyes to see, but the mind to know.

16.48. The infinitive of purpose sometimes resembles on the one hand the constructions to be treated in ch. XVIII, on the other hand infinitival secondaries (ch. XV). See also Maugham Pl 2.169 they want a man like me to amuse them (cf. 15.3_6) | Stevenson M 1.65 Three days of work at least would be required to make her float | Shaw TT 118 a man should have a woman to prevent him from thinking too much about women in general (cf. 15.3_2).

Retroactive.

16.4₉. As in some of the other chapters we also here find some infinitives having a preceding word as their notional object (cf. 15.2), e. g.:

Galsw Ca 179 Had he bought them to put there? | Gibbs BR 442 Audrey kept this letter to show Paul | He lent me a book to read | Mannin RS 92 Occasionally she would bring a doll to show Rose.

After a passive a passive inf. will often be used: Stevenson K 226 Disputes were brought to him in his hiding-hole to be decided (= they brought him cases to decide).

Speaker's Parenthesis.

16.5₁. A case of special interest is the speaker's or writer's infinitive: in a kind of stylistic parenthesis he explains why he chooses this or that expression, etc. The subject of the infinitive thus generally is not identical with the subject of the sentence to which it is joined.

More U 94 To be shorte, as he is ... | Defoe M 70 To bring the story short, we agreed to go ... To make this part of the story short, we put on board ... | Goldsmith 646 to be plain with you, Kate, I expect the young gentleman ....

Sheridan 269 the performers, who, truth to say, are in general but indifferent judges | Bridges E 146 truth to say | Hope C 224 to say truth, we have no desire to ... | NP 1887 Indeed, truth to tell, many of her letters are miracles of dulness | Hope D 10 To tell the truth, I was not sorry | Maugham Pl 2.149 to tell you the truth I would just as soon drink beer [as champagne].

Brontë V 357 To change the subject. Have you heard or seen nothing of Graham? | Di X 3 Marley was dead: to begin with | | Tylor A 192 To proceed to other kinds of tools. Thorns ... | ib 193 To continue the survey

of weapons. The cudgel ... | Russell SR 150 To take a simple and almost trivial example: The facts about the battle of Waterloo are known in great detail ... | Galsw SS 302 To come back to what we were saying, Marjorie. If your idea of life is simply to have a good time ... | Sh Macb I. 2.57 and to conclude, The victorie fell on vs.

16.5₂. Macaulay H 1.13 During the century and a half which followed the Conquest, there is, to speak strictly, no English history | ib 115 the Independents were, to use the phrase of their time, root and branch men, or, to use the kindred phrase of our own time, radicals | Benson D 6 the trees, strange to say, were green | Brontë V 230 Curious to mention, as I appeared, he fell on me.

Osborne 69 [he] had the vanity, (not to call it impudence) to talke somtimes as hee would have had me beleev'd ... | Di P 567 Mr. Winkle, senior, evinced palpable astonishment at the eccentric—not to say extraordinary—behaviour | Quiller-Couch M 63 an obstinate woman, not to say pig-headed | Bennett P 164 she had evidently behaved in an extremely foolish not to say criminal way | Maugham FPS 277 She was in appearance an imposing, not to say an alarming, female | Galsw FM 188 I don't like—well, not to put too fine a point upon it—Ebrews.

Other kinds of parenthetical infinitives, in which the idea of purpose is not so clear, are seen in:

Defoe M 121 He had, to give him his due, the appearance of an extraordinary fine gentleman | Goldsm V 1.1 To do her justice, she was a good-natured notable woman | Macaulay H 2.35 James, to do him justice, would gladly have found out a third way | Hardy R 24 To give him his due he's a clever fellow in his way.

16.5₃. Further *to be sure* = 'surely':

Defoe R 219 this was to be sure a surprize | Bosw 2.79 he had been a scoundrel all along, to be sure |

Austen P 57 but to be sure, Jane—one does not often see anybody better liked | Thack V 336 How time flies, to be sure! | Caine S 1.73 What a man he was, to be sure.

In the 18th cent. also *to be certain* (seemingly considered as vulgar): Fielding 5.451 And to be certain it must have been some good angel that sent him hither (ib 515, etc.).

If the form is used without *to*, it must be taken as an imperative, thus in Milton SA 465 He, be sure, will not connive (also ib 1408) | Gissing R 129 Him, be sure, we shall always have with us.

Transition to the Infinitive of Result.

16.5₄. From the idea of purpose are derived constructions like the following, in which the main verb expresses *a necessary condition* to obtain a result:

To (or, in order to) get out of the country it is necessary to have a passport | Carlyle H 127 a man to do this must have a kingly faculty | Butler W 84 A virtue to be serviceable must, like gold, be alloyed with some commoner metal | NP 1919 A League to last must rest on consent and common advantage | Maugham C 168 a poet to be true to himself and his art must not be encumbered with domestic ties | The evidence, to be of value, must be independent of hear-say || Locke CA 62 Things have to be done in a very dark way, in a very dark room, on a very dark night, not to be heard of on the Riviera.

Note the frequent position of the infinitive between the subject and the verb. "A poem, to be effective, must be beautiful" = if a poem is to be effective, it must be beautiful.

16.5₅. Another related employment of the infinitive (= 'even if I were to ...') is seen in:

Swift J 254 I would not live in a hot country, to be

king of it | Rose Macaulay P 226 I couldn't write one [a novel], good or bad, to save my life (common).

Compare the positive: I would give everything I possess to have your health.

This is evidently related to cases like the following:

One had only to look at him to feel his superiority | Waugh W 180 those moments of infatuation ... had only to be ignored to die | Cowper L 2.397 little more was wanting to make it an abode sufficiently commodious | He needed only a few words to be convinced | Sh Hml I. 5.125 There needs no ghost, my lord, come from the graue, to tell vs this.

That this is felt as (related to) an infinitive of purpose is seen by the addition of *in order* in NP 1935 You had only to talk to him about books in order to discover the wild enthusiasm that was in his blood.

16.5₆. After *give* the infinitive could hardly be termed an object, but rather an infinitive of purpose (a tertiary) in combinations like: give a child to suck | give a horse to drink. Similarly Di P 442 she hurriedly gave him to understand that it was barely possible she might be in the garden an hour later | Maugham Pl 3.190 you'll give him to understand that your husband doesn't appreciate you.—The object of *gave* (*give*) is the clause *that* ... But in Locke SJ 8 This gives one furiously to think | ib 237 it gave me furiously to think—a French phrase — there is no object of *give*. (Cf. with regard to the indirect object vol. III 15.3_1; *give him bread to eat*, above 15.2_3).

16.5₇. In the usual phrase "It takes two to make a quarrel" it is hardly possible to look upon *it* as the preparatory and the infinitive as the real subject, as we could not say "to quarrel takes two"; cf. Hart BT 245 it takes two to tell the truth—one to speak it and one to hear it. The infinitive must be regarded as one of purpose: 'the presence of two is required in order to bring about a quarrel'.

The Infinitive of Result.

16.61. Related to the infinitive of purpose is the infinitive of *result* (intended or not), or outcome, as for instance after *live* (= live long enough to experience):

Sh Merch I. 2.116 If I liue to be as olde as Sibille, I will dye as chaste as Diana | Di D 159 My papa lived to bail Mr. Micawber several times | Stevenson JHF 60 we shall not live to make other friends | Shaw 2.27 he never had a bath in his life; and he lived to be ninety-eight, the healthiest man in Bulgaria || Mannin Conf. 16 the son who grew up to be killed in the Great War.

16.62. This non-intended result is frequent with the infinitive *to find:*

Stevenson T 59 I opened my eyes to find that we were standing still before a large building | Walpole Cp 149 She woke suddenly to find some one standing in her open doorway and holding a candle | Jameson F 262 A few days later he came home to find a woman he had never seen before, waiting for him.

16.63. Other examples of the infinitive of result:

This did more to open his eyes than anything else | Austen M 9 she could scarcely speak to be heard | Ertz G 65 Garfield had just been elected President, he too to fall a martyr the same year | The motor-car has come to stay [= 'has come for good, and will stay'; only in this fixed phrase, in which we have probably at first an inf. of purpose].

In cases like the following the infinitive might be classed as a secondary adjunct (above ch. XV): Austen M 399 Nothing happened the next day to weaken her terror | Maxwell F 69 But now something occured to set the whole current of his thoughts in a new channel.

16.64. That the result is not intended is sometimes curiously implied in the adverb *only:*

Collins M 417 I am sorry to have raised your ex-

pectations only to disappoint them | Stevenson V 176 you have only ended courting to begin marriage | Wells H 442 he had cast himself free from it [gentility], only to relapse again in such a fashion as this | AHuxley PCP 278 She would let herself go a little way towards surrender, only to suddenly draw herself back from him | Wodehouse SB 76 Too many times in his career he had admired girls from afar, only to discover, when they spoke, that they had voices like peacocks calling up the rain.

16.6₅. An expected, but uncertain result is expressed by *stand to:*

Gissing H 143 she had lost money by him and stood to lose more | Freeman Th 445 he stood to gain fifteen hundred pounds from the Insurance Company | Brett Young PC 505 if you persist in being unfriendly you stand to lose a good deal more than you'll gain.

16.6₆. A result (often with implied purpose) is frequently expressed by *so as to*; *such as to:* I got up early so as to be in time for the first train | Speak warily so as not to offend him.

Thus with *so* belonging to an adjective or adverb:

Be so kind as to shut the door | He spoke so loud as to be heard all over the place | Walton A 220 be so courteous as to give me more instruction | Swift 3.259 they were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions | ib 193 prevailed so far as to have a punishment inflicted on me | Cowper L 2.413 so faint as to be like an almost forgotten dream | Scott Iv 137 he was not so fortunate as to accomplish his object | Galsw FM 188 Ask him to be so good as to step up.

Cf. also: Don't be such a fool as to decline this offer.

16.6₇. In former times also without *to* (a) or without *as* (b):

(a) Gammer 141 will you be so good, sir, as talke with Dame Chat | Di (who is fond of this construction) D 45 if you'll be so good as give me your keys | id N

699 folks who wouldn't be so mean as save a sixpence for the world | Carlyle FR 124 Be so obliging as retire, Friend | Stevenson K 162 if I may make so bold as ask—

(b) Bunyan P 46 for being so foolish to fall asleep | Swift 3.270 which no man could be so foolish to hope | Spect 76 I must be so just to own that ... | Fielding 3.500 I am not such a fool to be frighten'd | Austen S 238 Mrs. F and your sister were both so good to say they should always be glad to see me.

16.6s. You can't see to ... = you can't see well enough to, there is not light enough to ...: Maugham Pl 2.158 In these flats you can't see to do anything at the back | Brett Young PC 87 You can't see to eat with candles in this light | ib 423 I can't possibly see to dress in this light.

16.6t. The difficulty in obtaining a result is expressed idiomatically by the phrase "have enough to do to ...", for which NED has no later examples than 1622: Di N 46 Nicholas had enough to do to hold them on | Maugham Alt 154 I'm using the mare and she'll have enough to do to carry me; also ib 498 || id Pl 2.236 He had all he could do to keep himself, he couldn't keep me too.

Providential Purpose.

16.7. A subdivision of the infinitive of result is what has been called the infinitive of providential purpose. Some examples (from More U, Sh, Hunt, Macaulay, Di) were given in vol. IV 22.2(2) in connexion with *was to* to denote after-past time. Further examples:

Shelley 147 we parted then, never again to meet | ib 729 How many meet ... To part too soon, but never to forget | Scott OM 39 the comrades had parted in displeasure, never, as it happened, to meet again | Macaulay H 1.108 He quitted London, never to return

till the day of a terrible reckoning had arrived | Bennett A 98 the even flow of conversation ceased for a moment, to be immediately resumed | Hardy R 241 the fresh young ferns were luxuriantly growing up, ultimately to reach a height of five or six feet | Synge Soc. History 349 The Bill passed the Commons, to be thrown out by the Lords | Lowndes Ivy 38 The widow had soon married again, to die within a year.

Chapter XVII.

Infinitives of Reaction and Specification.

Infinitive of Reaction.

17.11. While in the cases considered so far the preposition *to* before an infinitive points to the future, we now come to what I venture to call the Infinitive of Reaction; here we have a reference to an event that is past, or at any rate contemporaneous, in relation to the time of the main verb. While the infinitive of purpose, etc., corresponds to a clause with "that ... may ..." (21.8$_3$), the infinitives we are now going to deal with correspond to those clauses in which *that* has nearly the meaning of 'since' or 'because': "I am glad that you have come | How touched I was that you thought of it" (21.8$_4$). Very often we may use *at* + a gerund instead of the *to*-infinitive, in other cases *of* + a gerund (ashamed of doing).

This infinitive is chiefly used after expressions of mental states, moods, etc.

I am glad (happy, delighted, pleased, proud, sorry, angry, ashamed, disappointed, surprised, astonished) to see you here.

He rejoiced (His joy) to find her in good health.

He delighted (His delight) to prove me wrong.

He smiled (frowned) to see her joy.
He was shocked to hear her vulgar expressions.
You were right (wrong) to think him guilty.
You would do well to reconsider the question.
You were lucky to get that job.
A man would be blind not to see that.

17.1₂. A few literary quotations:

Sh Merch II. 3.17 ashamed to be my fathers childe | Goldsm V 1.31 I could not but smile to hear her talk in this strain | Cowper L 2.386 what was my astonishment to see what I had not seen before | Brontë V 34 I wondered to hear her talk so | Di D 26 she was proud to call herself a Yarmouth Bloater | Macaulay H 2.30 James was not ashamed to shed tears of delight and gratitude | Barrie AC 111 Dogs delight to bark and bite | ib 166 thankful to have made herself unpleasant | Mackenzie C 22 she was lucky not to be killed | Maugham Pl 4.55 But I'm so interested to see him | NP 1939 A journalist who writes books is hard put to it nowadays to keep up with events.

17.1₃. In this way the reason for a judgment is often expressed:

Marlowe F 784 you haue done me great iniury to bring me from thence | Sh Hml III. 1.169 woe is me, T'haue seene what I haue seene: see what I see | ib IV. 5.70 I cannot choose but weepe, to thinke they should lay him i'th' cold ground | Tw I. 3.1 What a plague meanes my neece to take the death of her brother thus? | H5 II. 2.1 His Grace is bold to trust these traitors | BJo 1.90 beast that I was to trust him | ib 3.60 I was to blame, so to mistake thy nature | Swift P 56 do you think I was born in a wood, to be afraid of an owl? | Goldsmith 658 What a fool was I, to think a young man could learn modesty by travelling | Boswell 1.190 his nerves must have been uncommonly strong, not to have been extremely relaxed by such an intemperate use of it [tea] | Cowper L 2.357 you

acted kindly by me not to make me partaker of your expectations | Sheridan 279 You are quite right never to read such nonsense | Scott Iv 335 thou art mad to say so | Shelley L 2.888 they must have been prone to believe any evil to have believed such assertions upon such evidence | Di P 605 very bad spectacles we must have worn not to have discovered it before | id Do 221 what have I done to be looked at, like that? | Thack H 84 What a lucky fellow I was to have such an income! | Ward M 135 What are the men about not to marry her? | Hardy R 70 you have been cruel to me to go away | Caine M 347 he shuddered to think of it | Galsw TL 240 he had been wrong to let the boy get away | Hope Z 43 Are we beasts, to eat without drinking? | Locke HB 207 God was good to have brought him into her life | Shaw J 226 Youre no gentleman, to hit a lady in the face | id 2.124 how little you understand me, to talk of your confidence in my goodness and purity | Locke GP 143 She was a brick to take it that way | Rea Six 282 but of course if you don't feel well enough, you're much wiser to stay at home.

17.14. The reference may be to something imagined:

Sh Tp I. 2.119 I should sinne To thinke but noblie of my grand-mother | Austen M 391 one should [sic!] be a brute not to feel for the distress they are in.

In this case we find the perfect of imagination (cf. vol. IV 10.6 ff., especially 10.8(6):

Sh Gent II. 3.13 A Jew would haue wept to haue seene our parting | Wells N 114 we should have been prigs to have concealed our interests.

17.15. Who am I, to quarrel with Providence? (since I quarrel with Providence; am I good enough to . . . ?). Thus always in questions:

Thack N 237 Who was he to set up his judgment against men of letters? | ib 239 O thou fond fool! who art thou, to know any man's heart save thine alone? | Galsw SS 46 Who were the aristocracy, to give them-

selves airs? | Rose Macaulay P 125 Who was he to tell me that of my own daughter?

(Cp. the *that*-clause: Kingsley H 12 Who are we that we should fight against God?).

17.16. A *to*-infinitive is loosely connected with a sentence in cases like Brontë W 92 To hear you, people might think you were the mistress = 'When people hear you', or, 'From the way you speak, people ...'. Other quotations (most of them with the preterit of imagination):

Di Do 302 one would believe so, to hear you! | Stevenson T 121 you wouldn't think I had had a pious mother —to look at me? | Meredith EH 243 Rose, to judge by her face, was as calm as glass | Bennett GS 106 no one would have guessed it, to watch her girlish figure | id B 174 [a person] with whom to judge by his countenance, it would be inadvisable to remonstrate | Kipling P 271 you would never guess it to see us slink about the rubbish-heaps.

This is related to the parenthetical infinitive of purpose, above 16.5. Instead of *to judge* another expression is *judging*, etc. (22.2_8).

The Infinitive of Specification.

17.21. The infinitive often serves to specify or give a supplementary determination to a word which in itself has a somewhat vague signification. The use of *to* here may be compared to its use as a preposition in combinations like "blind to his own faults, attentive to one's business, impervious to light", etc.; it may be interpreted as meaning 'in regard to, in reference to', as in the combination *as to* (which, however, requires the gerund, not the infinitive). It has not been easy to draw the line between this and some other applications of the infinitive, thus as the object of certain adjectives (13.6_2) or as an adjunct (ch. XV); but *the man to go*

means 'the man who is to go, should go', etc., while *it is time to go* = 'the time appropriate for going'.

17.2₂. The infinitive frequently serves to specify adjectives and the corresponding substantives and verbs; with some of these *to* has nearly its old signification of direction:

able: he is able to walk | his *ability* to pay | that will *enable* him to pay.

capable: Spect 582 not incapable to be beloved | Scott Iv 62 her eye seemed capable to kindle as well as melt || now usually: (in)capable of working hard (but: his *incapacity* to see this).

competent to judge.

qualified: he is qualified to teach mathematics (qual. for teaching).

free: Ruskin U 9 if the servant can get a better place, he is free to take one | Hardy L 160 she felt herself free to bestow her heart as she should choose | you are at *liberty* to go or stay | Fielding (NED) You have my full liberty to publish them | you are *welcome* to use my telephone | Thack V 72 he was welcome to come and go.

17.2₃. *quick, slow:* — to make up his mind.

long: he was not long to discover her guilt (= long (in) discovering).

fit: I am not fit to go out | His brothers are not fit to hold a candle to him. The infinitive may be a passive one: he is not fit to be trusted | Sh H4B I. 2.16 thou art fitter to be worne in my cap, then to wait at my heeles || Shaw Ms (p. ?) I'm *game* to suffer it if it costs that.

apt: he is apt to forget | Doyle S 1.106 The larger crimes are apt to be the simpler.

due: the train is due to arrive at 10.30.

17.2₄. *afraid:* Goldsm 635 I am afraid to be seen | Stevenson K 123 I was afraid to think what had befallen my shipmates, and afraid to look longer at so empty a scene ... | ib 217 we lay as still as the dead

and were afraid to breathe | Wells TM 79 I was absolutely afraid to go || Shaw A 187 Would the world ever have been afraid of making trouble?

The distinction in meaning is not always very clear. "He is afraid to die" may mean that he is afraid of what may follow his death; "he is afraid of dying" may mean 'he is afraid that he may not recover from his present illness'

shy: Kipl V 315 Shy as a girl to begin.

17.2₅. After *equal* both constructions may be used; NED has examples like "feel equal to receiving the congratulations" and "equal to contend with disciplined troops". The more usual construction is seen in Phillpotts GR 85 Are you equal to telling the clergyman that his son is dead.

The synonymous colloquial expression "I don't feel up to walking any more" always takes the gerund. (This, of course, is different from the equally colloquial expression "it is up to you to make the next move".)

17.2₆. *worthy:* Sh Meb I. 2.10 Macdonald, Worthie to be a rebell | BJo 3.44 there anything was worthy to be learned | Tennyson 257 I am not worthy ev'n to speak Of thy prevailing mysteries | Austen P 13 unworthy to be compared with his friend | Gissing B 182 he was not unworthy to take his place . . . he thought her unworthy to be the mother of Sidwell || He is worthy of being remembered (rare as in Scott A 2.317 I'm not worthy having a horse any longer).

Cf. *worth* 9.2₄.

17.2₇. A *to*-infinitive is extremely frequent after words qualified by *enough* and *too:*

Sh R2 III. 3.204 Cousin, I am too young to be your father, Though you are old enough to be my heire | Shaw: Too true to be good (a perversion of the old "too good to be true") | She is not young enough (= She is too old) to dress in that showy way.

Two *to*'s are used in a pointed way in OHenry B 137 Tildy was ... too anxious to please to please.

In the same sense rarely without *too:* Kipl J1 225 it is dark to see much.

The same construction as with *enough* is found with synonyms:

Macaulay H 2.2 A trifle now sufficed to depress those elastic spirits | Plunket Greene E 61 not in a sufficiently disturbed state of mind to have attempted his own life | ib 62 anyone who was sufficiently afraid of him to murder him.

17.2₈. A comparative with *than* can have the same meaning as *too* and is similarly constructed with a *to*-infinitive (*he knows better than to = he is too clever to*):

Kipling J1 49 he knew better than to struggle | Bentley T 53 I knew better than to interpose my unsought opinion | Maugham Pl 3.159 he ought to have known better than to marry her | Di D 567 Don't you know the Doctor better than to suppose him conscious of your existence.

Similarly in Cowper L 2.320 I will be more reasonable than to grumble | Congreve 258 I have a better opinion both of you and myself than to despair | Gay BP 106 I hope you are better bred than to be jealous | Brontë V 256 I had a truer sense of justice than to fall into any imbecile extravagance of self-accusation | Stevenson M 77 the poor miller saw nothing better for it than to take him up in his arms.

Cp. also *further than to:* Meredith E 233 they had very few words to say and would not intrude one moment further than to speak them.

Here the bare infinitive is sometimes found: GE M 1.280 she ought to have learned better than have those hectoring assuming manners by this time | Stevenson K 105 But for all I was so young, I was wiser than say my thought | Strong B 203 he knew better than go against Fergus.

17.2₉. The infinitive of specification is very frequent

after ordinals, among which *last* and *only* may be reckoned: in *the first to come, and the last to leave the office* they were in vol. II 15.822 given among adjuncts; here they are placed among tertiaries because *first*, etc., are adjuncts, thus secondaries.

The first (last) person to find fault | Collins W 255 the fir-trees are the only objects ... to remind me of Limmeridge | Plunket Greene E 178 it was fortunate in being the only night-club to secure Friday for its regular extension of licence.

17.3₁. The infinitive of specification after substantives; often with an alternative construction with a gerund:

We have no *time* to rest here (different from *we have no time to lose* 15.3) | AV Ecc. 3.2 [there is] a time to be borne, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck vp that which is planted ... | Waugh W 114 the *hour* to take risks had come | Allen A 64 There will be many *days* now to talk it all over.

I have no *space* in this short volume to deal with all the various problems.

This is not the *way* to settle such questions.

McCarthy 2.479 Dickens was not of an *age* to die.

Macaulay H 2.14 There is *reason* to believe that a horrible suspicion did actually cross the mind of Short | Maugham Pl 2.165 But I've got no reason to do anything of the kind || a reason for -ing.

She gave *notice* to leave.

17.3₂. Goldsmith V 1.6 a rich relation taking a *fancy* to stand godmother (also: have a fancy for doing something).

I had not the *courage* (the pluck, vg the guts) to shoot.

Maugham Alt 542 they had the damned *cheek* to run away.

Hammett Th 141 He even had the *nerve* to hint that I might've killed her.

Goldsmith V 1.147 My wife had scarce *patience* to hear me to the end.

Maugham Pl 2.188 I'm not in the *mood* to stand it | Harraden F 125 if he was in the mood to be miserable.

Kennedy CN 135 An hour with Sanger's circus had put him in a *frame of mind* to expect any sort of discovery.

McCarthy 2.576 he was now in a *position* to indulge in his own personal predilections | Di N 24 he would have been in a *situation* to help you.

17.3₃. The *power* to do ill | AV Mat 9.6 the sonne of man hath power on earth to forgiue sinnes. Note the double construction in Stevenson M 243 his power of forgetting was fully on a level with his power to learn.

I had no *occasion* to speak French | Cowper L 2.396 he may yet have an *opportunity* to know my friends | ib 397 I hope soon to have an opportunity to convince her by ocular demonstration | Maugham Pl 2.149 I thought this would be an admirable opportunity to drink it || Cowper L 2.395 it affords me an opportunity of writing to you | Gissing B 204 circumstances gave him a grand opportunity of making his force felt. What are we all seeking but an opportunity for striking out with effect.

Galsw Ca 18 was there no *chance* to get away (= chance of getting away).

He has a *right* to decide | Di X 5 What right have you to be merry?

17.3₄. Swift P 16 his particular acquaintance (of whom I had the *honour* to be one) | ib 127 when you all did us the honour to call here | Thack P 142 he did me the honour to hint that I was a coward | Bennett B 163 I have the honour to be your uncle | ib 35 she did me the honour to accept my offer || Swift P 17 I had some share in the honour of promoting it | Thack

P 56 Cos ... had the honour of singing his songs (also ib 88, 106).

I had the *pleasure* to see the minister || ... of seeing ....

A growing *habit* to smoke cigarettes, or (more often) of smoking cigarettes (but: *I am in the habit of smoking*, never *to smoke* c.).

(The infinitives after *honour, pleasure* and *habit* might be said to be in apposition: for apposition with *of* cf. vol. III 1.5).

17.3$_5$. Sometimes one may hesitate whether to speak of "specification" or "purpose", as in some of the cases mentioned above (after *time*, etc.) and in

AV Mark IV. 9 He that hath eares to heare, let him heare | all measures to save labour (cf. implements to ...).

Cowper L 2.319 your *zeal* to serve us.

He easily found an *excuse* to absent himself.

He is in a *hurry* to leave.

Macaulay H 2.14 a young girl whom he had no conceivable *motive* to injure || motive for -ing.

A *ticket* to see the castle.

17.3$_6$. As infinitives of specification we may also reckon those used after some verbs of comparatively vague meaning.

Hesitate: he hesitated to acknowledge him: cf. his hesitation to a.

Please: Ward F 175 will you please to come in? (Cf. pleased to meet you, above 17.1$_1$). On the inserted *please* as a possible imperative see 24.2$_3$.

Fail: she failed to notice it (or, in noticing it); thus also the sb: her failure to notice it.

Seem: he seemed to laugh at us.

Appear: Di X 4 Even the blind man's dogs appeared to know him.

The analysis in some of these cases may seem doubtful. In AnalSynt 16.2 I classed *fail* and *seem* with the

verbs to be treated in 19.3₆, see this, as having a "split subject": She failed to notice it ½S V ½S(IO), and similarly with *seem*. The supposition was that one could not ask: "Who failed?"—but I overlooked the fact that this is quite natural, cf. Lady Macbeth's question (Mcb I. 7.59): "We fail?"—With *seem* there is a difficulty in analysis arising from the use of the same verb with a predicative: she seems happy. Cf. the collocation in Galsw FCh 32 everything seemed so difficult and to need such an effort. Are we therefore to take the infinitive as a predicative in the same way as we took it in "he is to run" (15.5)? The answer is, No, because the cases are not parallel: *to* + inf. has a characteristic meaning after *is*, the same that is found when it is used as an adjunct: *the horse to run* and *the house to let* = *the horse (that is) to run, the house (that is) to let*. But this does not apply to *seem: she seems to laugh* does not mean 'it seems that (as if) she is to laugh', but 'it seems that (as if) she laughs, is laughing'.

17.3₇. Some infinitives that are loosely connected with the sentence as a whole may perhaps be reckoned among infinitives of specification (cf. 17.1₆):

Stevenson K 9 There's nae folk there—to call folk | Wells T 114 Nor did I dream the next night, at least, to remember | Wyllarde E 42 Can they see us from here? Not to matter | Stevenson JH 19 What sort of man is he to see?

Another loose employment of the infinitive (= 'even if I were to ...'):

Swift J 254 I would not live in a hot country, to be king of it | Rose Macaulay P 226 I couldn't write one [a novel], good or bad, to save my life (common).

17.3₈. We may place here Di D 251 I know her to bow to (= 'so that I may bow to her') | Hope Ch 130 they had known one another to bow to | Norris P 365 I didn't see him to talk to.

Retroactive and Passive.

17.4₁. The infinitive of specification is very often retroactive like those mentioned in 15.2, i. e. referring back to a preceding item which is notionally its object. This phenomenon was already dealt with at some length in vol. III 11.6—11.6$_6$, but as it presents considerable interest it may not be amiss to take it up here and to give some additional examples:

Sh LL I. 1.47 these are barren taskes, too hard to keep | Benson N 251 All this would be too long to set down in detail | Galsw FS 565 Money's only fit to spend | Fox 1.15 when thoughts rise in us fit to utter among familiar friends | Stevenson K 125 I knew indeed that shell-fish were counted good to eat | Haggard She 133 there was something ready to eat || Di OT 338 One is enough to lose at a time.

Bunyan P 26 a stately palace, beautiful to behold | Stevenson K 147 the passage was a pretty thing to have seen | ib 295 I accept your apology, which was a very proper one to make | Bennett B 131 She is a very difficult creature to manage | Strong B 50 Willie had the name of being a fighter, and a bad man to cross | Galsw FS 548 The Boers are a hard nut to crack | Graves IC 150 this is the safest course to take.

After *enough* and *too:* Sh H5 V. 1.52 there is not enough leeke to sweare by | Swift 3.88 the ceremonies were too many to trouble the reader with at this time | Wilde D 110 he was too clever and too cynical to be really fond of.

17.4₂. Bosw 2.31 that distinguishing faculty of man, which has puzzled philosophers so much to explain | Stevenson K v These are nuts beyond my ability to crack | Russell FO 81 they [disturbances] caused the government little trouble to suppress | Wharton HM 7 He had a confused sense that she must have cost a great deal to make | Wallace Green Archer 232 a look

of pain that hurt Jim Featherstone to see | Berkeley Vane Mystery 36 it's the sort of thing that gives one a lot of satisfaction afterwards to have done | NP 1935 Herrings take an inordinate time to consume | NP 1935 I cannot believe that any of these books gave much trouble to write, and they certainly are no trouble to read | Galsw FS 783 His father's cigar took so long to smoke that at last ... | Maugham Alt 761 his luggage took an interminable time to register.

17.4₃. On the other hand the inf. of specification may be a passive one. This presents no interest in cases like those given under *worthy* and *honour;* cf. with *apt,* where it may seem to be incongruous with the normal meaning of *apt:* Mill Logic 50 It is apt to be supposed that the copula is something more than a mere sign of predication.

In cases like the following it would naturally be impossible to use the active infinitive: He is too young to be made a soldier | Bennett T 389 having said what was necessary to be said (= what it was nec. to say).

17.4₄. But it is interesting to note that such a passive infinitive is in some cases found where it is now more usual to have the retroactive infinitive (17.4_1). The passive was much more common in the 15th—18th century than it is now; on ME see van der Gaaf in ESts 10.129 ff. Some examples were given in vol. III 11.6_7 and 6_8 (Swift J 68 Money was so hard to be got there | Scott Iv 381 there are things most necessary to be done, etc.). The active and the passive turns are found together in Sh Merch I. 2.12 If to doe were as easie as to know what were good to doe, Chappels had beene churches ... I can easier teach twentie what were good to be done.

Further examples of the passive:

Harpsfield M 15 [he] was easie to be intreated to yeelde to reason | ib 40 albeit it be loathsome ... to be remembred | ib 127 booke, because it is seldome and

rare to be gotten | Milton Pr 298 Language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known | Fielding T 1.41 but why the doctor should ... is a matter not so easy to be accounted for | Sh As I. 3.5 thy words are too precious to be cast away upon curs | Shaw TT 125 they are too absurd to be believed in | Trollope A 194 the author's poverty is, I think, harder to be borne than any other poverty | the pear is ripe enough to be eaten.

17.51. In order fully to appreciate these phenomena and the corresponding ones in other chapters we must look at them from two different angles, first, as they appear to the speaker wanting to express his thought, and second, as they appear to the hearer wanting to understand what is said.

The *speaker* very often has the choice between various ways in which to express one and the same idea.

First, an infinitive with its object may be made the subject of a sentence:

To deceive him is easy.

This is frequently arranged differently, so that the infinitive is placed in extraposition after having been represented by a preparatory *it:*

It is easy to deceive him.

Next, the point of view may be shifted so that the person is made the subject:

He is easy to deceive,—

in which *he* besides being the subject is also virtually the object of *deceive. He* may therefore also be conceived as the subject of a passive infinitive:

He is easy to be deceived.

Further, we may have a finite verb in the passive with the adjective turned into an adverb:

He is easily deceived—and, finally, the clumsy but logical blending of these expressions:

He is easily to be deceived.

Examples of this:

Fielding 5.554 I am not so easily to be disturbed | Stevenson K 30 smiling ... that he should think I was so easily to be deceived | Wells OH 169 They are easily to be conquered | Lawrence SP 46 the stiffer spirits among them were not easily to be put down | Dreiser AT 1.301 The state of Robert's mind for that night is not easily to be described.

17.5₂. Sometimes it is possible to use a nexus-substantive:

The problem is easy of solution = is easy to solve.

In some cases the speaker may have a choice between a sentence with and one without the introductory *there:*

There are many questions to settle, or
Many questions are to be settled.
There remains much to say, or
Much remains to be said—thus with different forms of the infinitive.

17.5₃. If the verb is combined with a preposition we have correspondingly the expressions:

To live with him is easy.

It is easy to live with him.

He is easy to live with—and finally with a relative clause:

He is an easy man with whom to live (never with *easy* alone).

Examples of the two last-mentioned constructions:

(a) AR 388 luue gretunge uorte wowen hire mide | Ch R 461 No more was there, never a del, To clothe her with | ib 622 for swetter place To pleyen in he may not finde | More U 45 there is husbandry to gett their liuinge by | Sh Lr III. 4.116 'tis a naughtie night to swimme in | Spect 168 one of the most proper scenes for a ghost to appear in | Sheridan 340 these are damned times to give money in | Cowper L 2.301 I find it myself a much easier matter to write than to get a convenient theme to write on | Mitford OV 226 This coppice is a place to live and die in | Macaulay H 2.23

It is Christmas, a cold time for Madam to strip in! | GE S 63 it was a nasty fog to turn out into | Wells Br 174 the world will be intolerable to live in | Maugham Pl 4.97 I'm not a very easy man to get on with | id Alt 146 that amount of white blood made him possible to talk to | Bennett ECh 292 she had admirers to choose from | Hardy L 102 when he lighted the gas to read or write by | AHuxley PCP 147 he had ten pounds to do what he liked with. (Cf. also vol. II 15.872 and vol. III 11.6_2).

Note the two constructions in Allen A 57 Someone to appeal to in case—in case one needed someone to whom to appeal.

17.5₄. (b) Ch B 656 She hath no wight to whom to make hir mone! | More U 44 [they] haue no other crafte wherby to get their living | Swift P 158 [the garden] is kept so clean, that you can't find a place where to spit | Di P 425 Thinking this an eligible place wherein to make inquiries, Mr. Winkle stepped into the little shop | Brontë V 439 had no tree been near against which to lean | ib 286 This time there was no Dr. John to whom to have recourse | Trollope D 1.52 she had a carriage in which to be driven, but no one to be driven with her | id A 266 fifty-three was too late an age at which to commence a new career | id W 69 they had no evils to redress, but rather great mercies for which to be thankful | Black Ph 350 It was a lonely place in which to be caught by a thunderstorm Norris O 443 this is no proper spirit in which to discuss business | Barrie T 80 an odd position in which to place a fourteen-year-old girl | Wilde D 173 he had no time left in which to practise | Allen W 125 a week is a terribly cramped and hurried time in which to view Florence | Bennett C 1.215 it would be a bad season in which to raise the financial question | Kaye Smith T 74 There was only May in which to work | Mackenzie S 1.228 in her he would have a splendid object on

whom to practise his power of controversy | ib 1.299 These were excellent fellows from whom to accept a cigarette.

17.5₅. In some of these passages we have an approach to what we observe when an adjective which is placed with the antecedent seems notionally to belong to the relative clause, as in NP 1932 Nansen's great self-reliance made him a difficult man with whom to work = a man with whom it was difficult to work. This interpretation is more or less clear in Ridge L 159 London was a terrible place in which to miss people | Butler N 179 I do not think America is a good place in which to be a genius | Mackenzie S 1041 his advice about possible places in which to live.

There can be no doubt that the construction with the preposition at the end (a) is more natural than the relative clause (b). The reason why many writers nowadays prefer the stiffer and more bookish relative construction is probably the rule given at school: "Never end a sentence with a preposition". Note that one never finds sentences like "He is a difficult man whom to draw" instead of "He is a difficult man to draw".

17.5₆. The problem for the *hearer*, on the other hand, is whether he is to take a word (or group of words) that precedes the infinitive as the notional subject or object of the idea expressed by the infinitive. Take such series of sentences as the following, which I analyze as in AnalSynt 17.

(a) I am not fit to take a walk S V^n P(2 pI O).
(b) I am not fit to go out S V^n P(2 pI 3).
(c) I am not fit to be seen S V^n P(2 pI^b).
(d) the pear is not fit to eat S(O*) V^n P(2 pI*).

(Compare with these also: this subject is not fit for a young woman to speak about.)

(a) the story is too long to amuse me S V P(32 pI O).
(b) the story is too long to be impressive S V P(32 pI P_2).
(c) the story is too long to be read at one sitting S V P(32 pI^b 3).

(d) the story is too long to read at one sitting S(O*) V P(32 pI* 3).

(Cf. also: the story is too long for it to be really impressive).

(a) there was no time to take tickets 3/s V S(21 pI O).
(b) there was no time to wait there 3/s V S(21 pI 3).
(c) there was no time to be lost 3/s V S(21 pI^b).
(d) there was no time to lose 3/s V S(O*) (21 pI*).

Instead of "there was" we might say "he had", though then (c) would be less natural: he had no time to lose S V O(21(O_2*) pI*).

It is easy to see that the cases (a), (b) and (c) stand out against (d): in (a) the infinitive has itself an object, in (b) it is by nature intransitive, and in (c) it is a passive infinitive; only in (d) we have a transitive verb which is not followed by any object and which is therefore naturally understood as having the preceding word as its notional object—an interpretation which is obviously precluded in the other cases.

(The rule about "transitive" should not be taken too strictly: though *fruit* is the virtual object in "there was no fruit to eat", *time* cannot be taken as the object in "there was no time to eat": in other words *eat* is here used intransitively).

On the addition of a subject to the infinitive (The tea was too hot for me to drink) see 18.8$_4$ ff.

Analysis of two sentences with prepositions:
He is a difficult man to work with S V P(21* pI p*).
He is a difficult man with whom to work S V P(212(pl^c pI))—
and of one with the whole nexus as object:
I find the story difficult to remember S V O(S_2(O*) P(23(pI*))).

Chapter XVIII.

Subject + Infinitive as Object of Main Verb.

18.11. After dealing with those employments of infinitives in which their subject is not expressly indicated —S°I—we now come to those cases in which the subject of an infinitive is expressly indicated—SI, or rather, as the subject is different from the main subject (S) of the sentence, S_2I. Here it is natural first to take the most important class, in which this subject + infinitive is the direct object of the main verb, the construction which is in ordinary grammars termed "*accusative with infinitive*". The early history of this construction may be thus summarized according to Zeitlin: From the very earliest times English, in common with the cognate languages, employed, after certain verbs of causation (*lætan*, *hātan*, *biddan*) an accusative with an infinitive. In later OE the construction spread to verbs of this group which earlier were followed by a clause only or by an accusative and a clause. Verbs like *bēodan*, *dōn*, *macian*, *tæcan* and *læran*, though found very rarely with an acc. and inf. in late OE, began to employ the construction more and more frequently in early ME, consequently it had become predominant by the opening of the fourteenth century. New words introduced from French or Latin very soon adopted the construction (e. g. *command*). With verbs of sense perception and of mental perception the construction is frequent in OE, even after such verbs as *gefrignan*, which very rarely take a pure accusative. After verbs of declaration the early language does not use the construction, which comes in later than an accusative followed by a participle; its use becomes wider in ME, though there are great differences in the extent to which it is employed, even by writers belonging to the same period. Though

the construction is not in itself due to Latin influence, the native tendency to use it was probably stimulated by the great stream of Latin verbs which flowed into the English language between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The usage in Shakespeare is very nearly the same as the norm of modern usage. Some later writers use the construction much more extensively than others; thus the number of examples found in the Spectator or in Matthew Arnold far exceeds those found in an equal amount of the prose of Dr. Johnson or Walter Bagehot (Zeitlin, The Accusative with Infinitive. New York 1908, p. 108—113).

18.1₂. For the modern period the term "Accusative with Infinitive" had best be avoided. In the first place there is nothing to show the case if a substantive is used, and secondly, where, as in many pronouns, we have an oblique case, there is no distinction now between the accusative and the dative, and it is impossible to keep apart those cases in which the old language had an accusative and those in which it had a dative: after some verbs we should now speak of a dative if it were permissible still to use such a term in dealing with Modern English, but what about such a verb as *bid?* It goes back to OE *bēodan* and *biddan*, which are found with both cases (an early ME acc. is seen in Layamon 1.132 he bæd hine do(n) is iwille = B bad hine don his wille).

18.1₃. The construction with which we have to deal forms really a subdivision under nexus-object, and only the circumstance that we have S V $O(S_2I)$ instead of S V $O(S_2P)$ as in Ch. II makes us single out these sentences for separate treatment. The connexion between the two subdivisions is evident in this quotation:

Ruskin C 76 the entire object of true education is to *make* people not merely *do* the right things, but *enjoy* the right things:—not merely *industrious*, but *to love*

industry—not merely *learned*, but *to love* purity—not merely *just*, but *to hunger and thirst* after justice. Other similar examples were given in 1.7.

18.14. The grammatical theory is complicated by the fact that there are really three different sources of the construction and that there are several border-cases. We have first (a) clear instances in which the S + I is evidently the direct object of the main verb; then (b) instances in which a person may be considered the indirect and the infinitive the direct object of the verb, and finally (c) instances in which a person may be taken as the direct object of the verb and the infinitive as a tertiary connected by means of *to*, which has more or less its local meaning. Examples of these:

(a) I hear him sing S V $O(S_2I)$, cf. I hear his singing, this caused the apple to fall S V $O^r(S_2I)$, cf. this caused the fall of the apple,

(b) I allow her to sing S V O^i O(I), cf. I allow her a hundred pounds a year,

(c) we forced him to obey S V O pI, cf. we forced him (in)to obedience.

Now these classes pass imperceptibly into one another; *I let her sing* sometimes means pretty much the same thing as *I make her sing* (a), but at other times *I allow her to sing* (b). *Allow* in some cases is followed by a clear nexus-object consisting of (SI), which must be classed as (a). And though *get her to sing* means much the same thing as *cause her to sing*, it must be classed with (c). In spite of these considerations it has, however, been thought the best thing to bring all the following verbs together in this place.

Some of these verbs, chiefly of the first group, can also have a simple ordinary object in the same sense (I see him, etc.).

General note to this and the following chapters. The construction here treated is found with verbs and verbal phrases

only. After the corresponding substantives the construction with *for* is used: orders were given for the infantry to retreat, cf. 18.8₂. — On the passive of all these constructions see 19.3.

Immediate Perception.

18.2₁. Sh H4A II. 4.333 I ranne when I *saw* others runne | Swift P 67 I have seen hastier people than you stay all night | Sh Merch V. 1.77 You shall *perceiue* them make a mutuall stand | Brontë J 188 It was with some trepidation that I perceived the hour approach | Di D 476 I *observed* Agnes turn pale | Meredith E 461 Willoughby observed Mrs Mountstuart meet him | Defoe R 349 we *spy'd* the bear come out of the wood (obs.?) | Hardy T 328 Clare *watched* it [the carriage] go | Wells V 325 He watched the swirl of water from his oar broaden and die away | Phillpotts K 147 He *marked* each day do its work | London M 362 he *noticed* her face harden.

To is rarer:

Marlowe H 2.219 The god *seeing* him with pittie to be moued | Sh Shr I. 1.179 I saw her corral lips to moue (in Sh only here and Sonn 64.10, 119.4) | Behn 345 Vernole could *perceive* anon the door to open | Swift 3.177 I *observed* the noise and flutter of wings to encrease very fast | Stevenson K 152 I observed many of them to bring out their mulls | Galsw FS 52 Soames *noted* his dress clothes to be well cut.

This *to* is chiefly used when *see* does not indicate immediate perception but an inference: I see this to be true | Seeing flight to be impossible, he surrendered | Ruskin Sel 1.267 seeing the perfect painting of sea to be impossible.

Here the infin. is *to be*, and in what follows we shall see that *to* is very often used with *be*.

On the difference between "I see (hear) him come" and "I see (hear) him coming" see 22.3₂ ff.

Hear: Sh Hml IV. 1.9 hearing something stirre | Fox 2.141 I never heard music without words say half so much.

To is rare: Sh Err V. 1.25 Who heard me to denie it or forsweare it? | Defoe R 27 we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous, huge and furious beast --this may possibly be explained as above (inference, not immediate perception).

When *hears* = 'is told' it requires a clause: he heard (that) she was ill.

Mental Perception.

18.2b. *Feel:* Sh Mcb V. 2.20 Now do's he feele his title Hang loose about him | Bunyan P 92 I felt him take hold of my flesh | Masefield S 213 he felt his hair stand on end.

To is rarer: Harrison R 75 he who wrote it out felt Venice to move him so. We, too, feel it move us.

In some cases it may be explained as above after *see:* Austen M 152 why had not she gone to her own room, as she had felt to be the safest | Maxwell G 282 Mr. Mackee evidently felt himself to be cutting a poor figure.

Find: Swift J 2 They have found everything answer very well | Austen P 101 she found the interest of the subject increase | Doyle S 1.161 I found my attention wander | I found it pay.

With *to* (inference): Sh Alls III. 1.14 I haue found My selfe in my incertaine grounds to faile | Swift 3.308 I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long.

Discover (with *to*): Johnson R 42 a look that discovered him to feel some complacence in his own perspicacity.

Here we may place *have* in a special sense, nearly = 'experience':

Bacon A 33.20 ther was never any army had their men stand in better battell-array | Spect 583 I have so irresistible a rage and envy rise in me | Sheridan 271 sometimes on a morning I have a dozen people call on me | GE M 1.26 he'd be glad to have you stay | Shaw 1.140 I have never had one human being care for me since I was born.

18.2₃. *Think*, *believe*, etc., with *to* (chiefly with *be*): Lyly E 67 Philautus thinking al to be gold that glistered, and all to be gospell that Euphues vttered | Sh Lr IV. 7.69 I thinke this lady To be my childe Cordelia | Tennyson 806 I *believed* thee to be too solemn | Bunyan G 14 our neighbours did *take* me to be a very goodly man | Gissing H 48 I *judged* him to be about sixty years of age | Rose Macaulay P 164 one of them *knew*, or anyhow *guessed*, the other to have caused the accident | Meredith E 80 do not *suppose* me to complain | Stevenson K 35 just where I had *fancied* him to stand.

Thus also after *consider*, *suspect*, *hold*, *assume*, *imagine*, etc.

In cases like the following *be* is the subjunctive, and not the infinitive: Sh Oth III. 3.384 I thinke my wife be honest, and thinke she is not.

Read (rare): Phillpotts K 57 I read this mystery to mean that Forrester knew ....

Here we may perhaps place the rare *catch* (generally *catch me -ing*): Hornung R 7 you won't catch me stand and look on a second time.

18.2₄. *Know* sometimes (but only in the past tenses) approaches the meaning of a verb of perception (*I have known* = 'I have actually experienced, seen or heard') and then may have an infinitive nexus without *to:*

Fielding T 2.200 he had known him often refuse to be concerned | Bosw 2.31 I never knew a man laugh more heartily | Di X 63 I have known him walk with Tiny Tim upon his shoulder | Doyle G 73 I never knew

a man love a woman more fondly | Meredith H 50 his family had never known him beg for a shilling | Merriman S 166 She had never known them fail.

But even in this signification *know* sometimes has a *to*-infinitive: Lamb E 2.178 I have known him to scream out | Di D 127 I had never known him to pass the garden-gate before.

In the ordinary signification (= Fr. *savoir*) *know* requires *to* before the infinitive:

Sh H4A I. 2.205 I know them to bee as true bred cowards as euer turn'd backe.

Thus also in modern literary style; the construction is hardly colloquial.

Understand (with *to*): Did I understand you to say that you refuse? | I understood him to have had certain objections.

Make out (with *to*): Butler E 74 I certainly did not make myself out to be any better than I was.

Expect (with *to*): Jevons (NED) Seeing a bright flash of lightning, I expect thunder to follow | Nelson 1805: England expects every officer and man to do his duty.

Affirmation, etc.

18.25. Austen P 30 he was forced to *acknowledge* her figure to be light and pleasing | Sh Wint V. 2.42 many other euidences *proclayme* her, with all certaintie, to be the kings daughter | Scott Iv 207 his yellow cap proclaimed him to belong to the same nation | Carlyle (Collingwood R 280) the newspapers *announced* the immediate danger to be past | Macaulay E 1.291 a close examination *shows it* [the argument] to be quite unsound | Bridges Coll. Essays 135 the book *reveals* the author to be a more superstitious and inept thinker than ... | Defoe (NED) I *take* that man to be a ... penitent | he *proved* himself to be innocent ('adduced proof that he was', different from *proved to be innocent*, below 19.3$_6$)

| Sayers GN 412 *pronouncing* chess to be the world's most wearisome amusement.

Affirm, assert, maintain, report are found with the *to*-infinitive. *Allow* may have the same meaning: I allow him to be a genius.

Say. Examples with or without *to* are found in OE and ME (See Zeitlin, p. 99 and 101), but not, it seems, in ModE, except in the passive.

Tell = 'say' was formerly used in the same way, thus Wyclif (q) sixe thingis tellith Crist to come in his passioun; but not in ModE; see on its use in a different sense 18.3$_8$.

18.2$_6$. *Define* (rare), *conclude* with *to:* More U 192 they *defyne* vertue to be lyfe ordered accordyng to the prescrypt of nature | Swift 3.332 the world *concludes* his real father to have been a groom | GE Mm 34 he at once concluded Dorethea's tears to have their origin in her religiousness.

Trust with *to:* Hardy F 303 I can trust you not to mention to others what has passed | Lawrence L 121 I'd no more trust him than I'd trust a cat not to steal | Maugham Alt 18 She did not trust herself to speak.

Emotion.

18.2$_7$. *Like, hate* with *to:* GE M 1.253 I don't *like* other people to look at me much, but I like you to look at me | Hope D 6 I do like a man to be smart | Bennett RS 31 He *hated* Clerkenwell to be damned. Yet he liked her to damn it | Lawrence LG 265 I should hate you to miss the train | Galsw Frat 120 I hate him to be laughed at | Bennett P 237 you *love* people to have lessons.

Prof. Hempl once told me that this use of *like* (I should like you to do that) is unknown in some parts of America; he himself would always say: *I should like to have you do that,* or *I should want you to do that.*

Permission.

18.3₁. Verbs of permission and command offer some theoretical difficulties. As remarked in 18.1_4, it is natural in "I allowed (permitted) her to sing" to take *her* as an indirect object and *to sing* as the direct object. But this analysis cannot be applied to other cases in which it is necessary to take the infinitival nexus (SI) as the direct object: The owner allowed the pictures to be removed S V $O(S_2I^b$—thus with a passive inf.) | Maugham Alt 452 I cannot allow you to be made a fool of | he allowed the secret to ooze out | Bennett RS 57 They permitted trifles to annoy them | The Government authorized him to open negotiations.

The two sentences "I promised her to go" and "I allowed her to go", though seemingly parallel, are really different as shown by the formulas given in AnalSynt 17.2: S V O^i $O(S°I)$ and S V O^i $O(S_2°I)$ or, more explicitly S V O^i $O(S_2° = O^i)I)$: a promise refers to one's own acts, a permission to the other person's acts. It should also be noticed that in the former case it is not necessary to mention the indirect object: I promised to go, and that only in the latter case a passive is possible: "She was allowed to go": though we may say "she was promised a reward" it would hardly be possible to say "she was promised to go".

18.3₂. *Let:* Sh Merch I. 1.81 let my liuer rather heate with wine Then my heart coole with mortifying grones | Hml IV. 7.33 we can let our beard be shooke with danger | AV John 14.1 Let not your heart be troubled | Byron DJ 2.178 Let us have wine and woman. — Thus nearly always without *to*.

Leave without *to*, frequent in *leave ... be*, which seems to be fashioned after *let ... be:* Stevenson B 240 I entreat them to leave me be | Maugham TL 262 Why couldn't you leave me be? || Cowper L 1.187 they are

blind when Providence leaves them be deluded | Shaw Ms 72 Leave me go, will you?

With *to:* Leave him to do as he likes | Dickinson S 32 questions which I must leave my friend to answer for himself. Here we have probably an indirect object (O^i) while the inf. is O, thus a case of (b), see above 18.1_4.

18.3₃. *Suffer, bear:* Sh Tp III. 1.62 [I] would no more endure This wooden slauerie, then to *suffer* The flesh-flie blow my mouth (also Tro II. 3.196, but nowhere else, it seems, without *to*).—Generally with *to:* More U 40 to *suffer* the best of their decrees to lye vnexecuted | Sh Hml V. 1.109 why doe's he suffer this rude knaue now to knocke him about | AV Mark 10.14 Suffer the little children to come vnto mee | Swift 3.114 My master would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me | Caine M 417 he suffered himself to be led away | Meredith H 357 Rose cannot *bear* me to be with you | Galsw WM 36 I can't bear you to be unhappy.

Forbid with *to:* Sh Merch IV. 1.75 You may as well forbid the mountain pines To wagge their high tops | Tennyson 299 He had ... forbid her to speak to me.

Wish and Request.

18.3₄. *Wish, desire, want, choose.* Rarely without *to:* Sh Alls II. 1.134 those that *wish* him liue.

With *to:* Di Do 369 I wish you to have the goodness | id D 451 they *wanted* Dora to sing | Hewlett Q 81 he had more to go upon than he *chose* her to guess as yet | Collins W 385 I don't choose you to go by yourself to an hotel.

This construction is found after *want* when it means 'wish'; when it means 'need' it has a simple object which may be followed by an infinitive as adjunct (15.3_6 and vol. II 15.8), or of specification or purpose.

In some combinations it may be doubtful which of these

constructions is meant: Caine M 131 such a man wants a w to look after him = either 'wants that a wife looks after hir or (rather) 'wants a wife that may ...'; cf. also Wells N 2 I wanted a woman to save me.

18.35. *Will*, the fully inflected verb, with *wills*, *will* (vol. IV 15.1) without *to:* Sh H5 II. 4.90 willing yo ouer-looke *his pedigree (also H8 III. 1.18)* | *BJo 3.12* he therefore wills you stay.

More often with *to:* More U 209 those pleasures .. which nature willeth to be proper to man | Marlowe I 787 He wils me to repaire vnto the court | Lyly C 28: willing him presently to appeare before Alexander ib 294 goe presently to Apelles and will him to come | Sh Alls I. 3.230 he wil'd me In heedefull'st reseruation to bestow them (also H6A I. 2.80, Tit V. 1.160) | BJo 1.87 return to thy young master, and will him to meet me (also 3.74) | Carlyle R 1.258 So and not otherwise did the Upper Powers will it to be.

In this sense the form *would* is extremely rare: Lyly C 285 to see him that would Alexander to come (but 284 *willed*).

Will have (= 'wish', often approaching the meaning 'cause' or 'permit') without *to:* Dekker F 999 I would not haue you belieue it neither | Marlowe F 109 Ile haue them flye to India for gold | Sh Hml II. 2.624 Ile haue these players Play something like the murder of my father | Goldsm 623 would you have me perjure myself? | Stevenson V 15 how would you have people agree, when one is deaf and the other blind?

With *to:* Sh Gent III. 1.80 what would your Grace haue me to do in this? | Tw V. 1.49 I would not haue you to thinke, that ... | Shelley PW 2.383 I would have you to know that ... | Brontë J 176 Mr. Rochester would have me to come in | McCarthy 2.48 as some authorities would have us to believe.

This use, which depends on *will, would*, is different from that of the simple *have* 18.2_2.

18.36. *Mean, intend*, with *to:* Galsw P 10.34 This is

a Christian village, and we *mean* it to remain so | I did not mean you to hear it (nearly = 'want') | Wells T 110 speaking without *intending* her to hear | Gissing G 101 Evidently he had intended it [fire] to go out.

18.37. *Command, order, charge,* etc., with *to.* As remarked above, the construction is not always clearly to be analyzed as V O(S_2I), but may be V O^i O(I). Examples:

I *command* (*enjoin, direct, order*) you to follow me | Lamb R 57 I *charge* you to learn the following stanza by heart | I *advise* you to be careful | Collins (NED) I *warn* you not to do so [tear up the letter]; I warn you to read what I have written.

In some cases, however, the infinitival nexus is clearly a direct object: V O(SI); thus especially with a passive:

He ordered (commanded) the prisoner to be shot | Doyle NP 1895 he ordered the cripple to be carried out again.

Cf. the remark on *allow* 18.1_4 and 18.3_1. He ordered a taxi to come round at once: here two interpretations are possible, either S V O(S_2I) or S V O(12(I)) with the infin. as adjunct.

In this sense *bid* is obsolescent. Without *to:*

Sh Err II. 2.189 goe bid [order] the servants spred for dinner | Swift J 78 he bid me never trouble myself | Fielding 4.8 he bad me enquire for the stage | Bosw 1.269 have bid the coachman make haste | Goldsm V 2.167 he bid the postillion stop (also ib 137, 138) | Brontë W 62 [and often] bade us go | ib 123 he bid me tell | Stevenson K 20 he bade me go in | id B 158 a rough voice bid him stand | Hope R 96 I leapt out of the carriage bidding the man wait.

In the sense 'invite' without or with *to:* Cronin C 239 pounding Andrew on the back, bidding them be seated || Sh Merch II. 4.17 to bid my old master the

Jew to sup to night with my new master. Here *to* has approximately its local meaning (c in 18.1_4).

18.3₈. *Tell*, etc., implying a request, always with *to;* the person is often to be taken as an indirect object:

We must *tell* them to wait (does not seem to be found in Sh, but is extremely frequent nowadays) | Scott A 1.70 I will *write* Sir Arthur to come to Monkbarns to meet him | By DJ 5.107 He *whispered* Juan not to be afraid || Plunket Greene E 16 He *signalled* the reluctant waiters to bring another glass | Di D 95 he *nudged* Ham to say something (Cf. Galsw FS 572 He determined to *wire* to his daughter to meet him at Paddington: would it be possible to say *wire his daughter to meet ...?*) | Stevenson K 115 he *cried* to us to look.

After *tell*, etc., the passive construction which we found with *order*, etc., is not allowed; the person who is told to do something must always be mentioned.

Teach: he taught us to dance S V O^i O(I); cf. taught us dancing, and see vol. III 14.9_6 on two objects (not infinitival) after *teach.*

18.3₉. *Ask, pray, beg, entreat, implore* with *to:*

I *ask* him to do me the favour (not in Sh) | Shelley 417 oh, ask not me To love you | Sh As III. 3.34 I *pray* the gods make me honest (more often with *to* in Sh) | Tennyson 125 the little wife would pray them not to quarrel for her sake.

When an infinitive is appended to the object after *thank* as in Trollope B 305 "I'll thank you to give it me back" (= 'thank you if you will give'), the construction and meaning of *thank* comes so near to that of *ask*, that we may be justified in saying that in the sense 'ask politely' the verb *thank* can take an infinitival nexus-object.

Examples without *to* (rather vg): Thack P 138 I'll thank ye hand me the salt | ib 369 And I'll thank ye give me a glass of punch too, John.—With *to:* Cronin H 219 I'll thank you not to mention that name again

in my hearing | Fox 2.170 I'll thank you to pass the decanter | Ward F 179 I'll thank you, please, to leave my house | Wells H 108 I'll thank you not to throw away our "Votes for Women" | Bennett W 2.14 I'll thank you not to touch me! | McKenna M 113 Liars? I'll thank you not to call me a liar.—Cf. also Brontë V 45 I will *trouble* you to show me my berth | Doyle S 6.181 I'll trouble you to walk out of my house,—where *trouble* is an equivalent of *ask*.

Challenge, defy with *to:* Sh Tw III. 2.36 Challenge the counts youth to fight with him.

Dare in the same sense with *to:* Sh Gent V. 4.131 I dare thee but to breath vpon my loue | Galsw FS 630 I dare you to do what I'm going to do.

Causation.

The verbs of wish and request form the transition to the following group, in which we have the infinitival nexus as an object of result: S V $O^r(S_2I)$.

18.41. *Make.* The construction, which is found very early (NED 1175, 1200), cannot be due to Fr. *faire;* in OE and ME *do* had the same construction, and the same is true of Sc. *gar*. In the vast majority there is no *to* before the infinitive, so that it is superfluous to give more than a few examples.

Ch G 280 [god] made his angel hem the corones bringe | Mandv 169 that makethe them flee | Sh Hml III. 2.29 this ouer-done, though it make the vnskilfull laugh, cannot but make the judicious greeue | nothing will make him work; the mere idea of work makes him shudder | their brilliant conversation made the hours fly | it is difficult to make both ends meet | what makes you think so?

With *to:* Ch G 472 to maken folk to dyen or to liven | Mandv 161 to make it to recoveren his vertu | Lyly E 41 fire maketh the golde to shine, and the strawe to

smother (frequent in Lyly, though also without *to*) | Marlowe H 2.44 Fearing her owne thoughts made her to be hated | Sh Err II. 2.178 [it] Makes me with thy strength to communicate | Hml III. 4.186 And let him ... Make you to rauell all this matter out | Bacon A 9.30 we will not make your countenance to fall | AV Luke 12.37 make them to sit down to meate | Sterne M 1.141 circumstances make the thing to be, what it is | Coleridge 97 For all averred, I had killed the bird That made the breeze to blow | Macaulay H 1.66 But the circumstance which, more than any other, has made Ireland to differ from Scotland remains to be noticed | Norris P 191 she had made the little girl to suffer | Stevenson K 236 and even to think of it privily to myself, made my cheeks to burn.

Both constructions: Lyly C 313 the sea, which maketh men hoise their sailes in a flattering calme, and to cut their mastes in a rough storme | Marlowe E 2280 Your passions make your dolours to increase. This vsage makes my miserie increase | Galsw IC 147 [it] was still making the blood glow in her small, resolute face, and her red-gold hair to shine more than ever.

Here we see the influence of distance from the main verb, which favours *to*, as also in NP 1923 [it] gradually made what was once not only permitted but enjoyed and applauded to appear intolerable.

18.42. *Cause* without *to:* Greene J4 400 I haue causde him kill a vertuous queene | BJo A 2.219 Take heed, you doe not cause the blessing leaue you.—Thus three times in Sh.

With *to:* Sh Mids III. 2.117 the noyse they make Will *cause* Demetrius to awake.

Thus always nowadays.

Contrive (rare) with *to:* Bramah in BDS 443 he would have *contrived* it to appear that she had made a mistake.

Haste (rare) with *to:* Sh Hml I. 5.28 Hast, hast me to know it.

18.43. *Get* with *to:* Meredith E 179 get her to give you a warm bath. *To* here as with *bring, lead,* etc., has really the local meaning (c). *I got him to talk* must be analyzed S V O pI rather than S V O(S_2I) as in *I made him talk, caused him to talk.* Cf. above 18.1$_4$.

Motion: Christie Orient Exp. 149 Poirot motioned her to sit down.

18.44. Similarly *compel, force, oblige, constrain* him to obey | he *condemned* her to lead a dreary life.—Cf. also *induce, urge, incite, impel, persuade, provoke.*

The occasional occurrence of the infinitive without *to* shows how closely the construction is felt to be related to the infinitival nexus that forms the subject of this chapter.

Kyd 11 I *forc'd* him lay his weapons downe (but 12 thou didst force him first to yeeld) | Sh Cor V. 3.100 thy sight . . . *Constraines* them weepe | Browning 2.502 to get him lay the picture flat—in these instances probably for metrical reasons.

18.45. After *help* it is natural to take the infinitive with *to* as an infinitive of purpose (cf. 16.4$_6$), but the curious thing is that the construction without *to* is as frequent as, or nowadays perhaps even more frequent than, *to:*

Will you come and help me (to) develop some pictures? | Maugham Pl 4.193 She never bought a hat without asking me to go and help her choose it | id Alt 1315 a mission boy that was helping her nurse him | Graves IC 174 to help them rebuild the city administration (also ib 153) | Maynard Smith F 21 he helped Harriet carry the poor lady upstairs.

Note the analysis in AnalSynt 18.1 He helped her to cook the food S V O pl(S $^{\circ}_{1\&2}$ I O_2). But would it be correct to analyze the construction without *to* as V O(S_2I)?

Word-Order.

18.5₁. Generally the S is placed before the infinitive O(SI), exactly as O(SP) in ch. II; but in some cases we find the inverse order. Thus *let* enters into a fixed combination with the following infinitive (*go, fall, slip, drop*) and forms nearly one semantic whole with it followed by an object (Cf. on other similar nexus-objects 4.3_2 ff.):

Kyd 11 *Let goe* his arme | Sh Hml III. 4.109 [he] lets go by Th'important acting of your dread command | John III. 1.192 Let goe the hand of that arch-heretique (also 195) | London W 89 the weasel let go the cub | Sh Shr III. 2.163 the priest *let fall* the book | GE A 222 you'll not *let drop* a word | Lamb E 1.52 to *let slip* the sacred observance of any old institution | Allen W 39 having let slip the golden moment.

Alongside of *let go my hand* we have *let go of my hand*, as if *go* were a substantive; cf. vol. III 13.4.

The length of the S causes it be be placed after the infinitive in Bennett W 2.322 they caused to be constructed a sign compared to which ....

The order in London W 112 "making obey that which moved" is quite exceptional.

Split Infinitival Object.

18.5₂. It is a necessary consequence of the view here held that the object of *saw* in "the man whom we saw run" is not *whom*, but *whom ... run*. The object thus is split in two. This is found chiefly with relative and interrogative pronouns. Examples:

Stevenson K 10 a little man ... whom I saw to be a barber on his rounds; the formula of the relative clause is ($\frac{1}{2}$O(S_2*) S V $\frac{1}{2}$O(I*)) | Heywood P 171 Whom haue ye known dye honestlye? formula $\frac{1}{2}$O(S_2*)v S V $\frac{1}{2}$O(I*3)? | Austen P 240 the advantages which you

must know to have been designed for him | Galsw F Ch 35 I wish I were like Ann, who always does at once what she feels to be right | id FS 555 something which he knew to be extremely natural | ib 557 people whom, from their appearance, he took to be literary | Stevenson T 111 the first voice, which I now recognized to be Silver's | Sh Meas II. 1.9 your honour ... whom I believe to be most strait in vertue | Stevenson T 186 he threw out something, which I divined to be an empty bottle | Plunket Greene E 255 a man who he had always considered to be rather an old fogey | Fielding 4.41 the stature ... which he represented to be bigger than a span | Austen P 232 a circumstance which Darcy of course could not wish to be generally known | Thackeray N 461 Which [Ambition or Love] shall we let to triumph for ourselves?

18.53. When a word which is not a pronoun of one of these two categories is for the sake of emphasis placed first, we may have the same construction:

Campbell Shl 218 Demogorgon he believes to have been dethroned as well as dismembered.

A somewhat different kind of split object is seen in Cowper L 2.400 what a relief ($\frac{1}{2}$O(P)) I feel it, not to be pressed for Milton: $\frac{1}{2}$O(S_2(s I^n pl)).

Incomplete Infinitival Nexus-Objects.

18.54. In some cases one part only of the nexus is expressed. This may be the infinitive, where the S if it had been expressed would have been indefinite ('people', 'one', etc., the 'generic person'). This was the case in the ME phrase *Lat see* (Lat see now who shall telle the firste tale, Ch A 831, 3116, B 4511, 2123) and ME *do bind him* = 'make people bind him, make him be bound' (NED do 23) and the similar use with *make* (NED 53 d); cf. Mandv 25 [he] leet make him knyghte.

With this compare also such constructions as Ch C

208 [He] leet anon his deere doghter calle | Gamelyn 733 And leet sadle a steede | Mandv 107 there let Julianus dyggen him up, and let brennen his bones— where ModE generally has the passive inf., as already Mandv 102 Abraham leet him ben circumcyded | ib 105 [he] made hem to be worschipt.

With the former construction cp. G. *er liess seine tochter rufen* || Dan. *han lod sin datter kalde*, AnalSynt 15.2.

18.55. In ModE the construction infinitive without S is found chiefly in the common phrase *make believe*, which can take a content-clause or an infinitive with *to*, in modern American also an infinitive without *to* as the object of *believe*: Goldsm 669 I thought you could never be making believe | Ritchie M 189 I used to sit there, making believe to learn Italian | Thack V 41 the happy feasters made-believe to eat slices of almost invisible ham | id S 69 making believe to be affable | ib 70 they make-believe to believe | Barrie T 290 in the days when they both made believe that she was infantile | Cooley Human Nature 167 I have seen her sit down and make believe cry | Lewis MA 386 I make believe read my French books.

Hence the sb. *make-believe* or *make-belief*, see Morphology.

Rarer as in Williamson S 19 Di laughed too, but only to *make seem* as if she didn't care.

Thus also in the now frequent phrase *make do* (*do* in the same sense as in "That'll do"). As this is not found in NED, and in the Supplement only with one quotation (from a NP 1927), I print several literary quotations:

Locke PG 143 if you can make do with hash and rice pudding, I'll be grateful | Galsw FS 630 always having to look forward to see if you can make do | Maugham Pl 4.241 We shall have to make do with the family bus for a bit longer | Sayers GN 478 If I can't have the real thing, I can make do with the imitation

Other cases with *make* are rare:

Lyly C 321 It is better to hate the things which make to loue than to loue the things which giue occasion of hate | Tennyson 417 Yet to be loved makes not to love again.

In Benson N 280 *it'll make talk* we may have the substantive and not the verb *talk*.

18.5₆. Cf. further *I have heard say* that he is a miser (already Ch R 2952), also with *speak* or *tell*.

Deloney 6 I haue heard say that many sorrowes follow marriage | ib 45 we heare say he is busie | Di N 745 she was, I have heard say, handsome | Farnol A 313 You've heard tell of Joan, poor Joan who was unhappy | Stevenson K 77 All this I had, of course, heard tell of (also ib 107 and id C 164) | Strong B 268 I hear tell these restaurant cars are a great thing.

Hence the sb. *hear-say*.

(Cf. with the participle Ch A 4129 I have herd seyd; a slightly different construction in Ch F 1547: herd me sayd = heard me say).

18.5₇. Another combination of the same kind is *let go* or *leave go*, most often in the imperative:

Sh Ven 379 For shame he cries, let go, and let me go | Brontë V 251 Fasten on me, and don't leave go | Wells T 54 to leave go | Stevenson B 154 he left go | Lawrence L 137 The boy let go of her ... Leave go! Leave go! she cried | Allen A 64 Let be just for now.

Cf. the phrase with *of* vol. III 13.4₈.

18.5₈. Some examples of latent S in an infinitival nexus in contact-clauses were given in vol. III 7.2₄: one of the women he had made laugh, caused to laugh | Brontë: all the director wished to be effected | Mackenzie: the only person I don't want to laugh at me.

Outside the instances here mentioned S cannot be

omitted, thus we do not say "he ordered to prepare breakfast" instead of "he gave orders to prepare b.".

The infinitive, too, may be latent in an infinitival nexus, see below 20.5₂ ff.

Infinitive and *that*-Clause.

18.6₁. The infinitival nexus-construction in many respects equals a *that*-clause, and one construction may be substituted for another without the sense being altered. Hence e. g. Doyle S 3.132 you expect two brothers to be alike, but not that they should have the same teeth stuffed in the same way.—There are, however, some restrictions to the use of the shorter and generally more handy infinitive construction:

(1) It can never be placed before the verb: *they firmly believed him to be innocent* = ... *that he was innocent;* but with a different word-order we can only say: *that he was innocent they firmly believed.*

(2) After verbs of perception, the present is the only tense of the infinitive that can be used: *I see (hear) him come,* never: *I see (hear) him have come,* but only: *I see (hear) that he has come.* On the other hand *I believe him to have come* and *this proves him to have been wrong* is very good English. There is no formal future infinitive in English, but the (present tense) infinitive often implies a future time, as in *I expect him to come.*

18.6₂. Sometimes, where we should expect an infinitival nexus, we find an ordinary object followed by a content-clause. (Cp. constructions like Sh R2 III. 3.61 marke King Richard how he lookes).

Examples: Vices a. V 5 ðies dieð ðe manne ðe ðurh hire is beswiken ðat he twiefealdeð his senne | Ch E 731 the sclaundre of his diffame Made hem that they him hatede therfore | Caxton R 107 he made hym that hym thoughte that his eyen shold goo out | Defoe R 96 the fear of being swallow'd up made me that I never

slept in quiet | GE A 436 [vg] Mother's made me as I hardly know where I am | Gissing G 366 the disappointment makes him that he doesn't know what he is saying.

18.63. This mixed construction is sometimes caused by the fact that the verb that should be put in the infinitive has no infinitive: thus with *can:* Ch D 617 That made me I coude noght withdrawe My chambre of Venus from a good felawe | Bacon Ess 38 [Love] it troubleth mens fortunes, and maketh men, that they can no wayes be true to their owne ends | GE A 372 the trouble she seemed to be in, made me as I couldn't find in my heart to send her away | Shaw J 18 it makes him that he cant face reality | Barrie W 29 It was the only wy to mak me 'at I couldna gang awa.

18.64. The auxiliary *will*, likewise, has no infinitive, hence: Ch D 419 that made me that ever I wolde hem chyde | Eastw 490 she desir'd mee that I would come to visite you | Sh Tro III. 1.84 he desires you, that if the King call for him at supper, you will make his excuse | Defoe M 206 she desired me that if anybody called for the Barnet coach, I would step and call her | id Rox 62 He also desired me that I would not take any more servants.

In a more regular construction we have simply a content-clause without *that;* note that in all the examples collected vol. III. p. 34—35 after *beg, desire, entreat,* we have the auxiliary *will;* as there remarked, an infinitival nexus is more usual, but, N.B. without *will.* A few additional examples:

Defoe Rox 11 I begged they would advise me what course to take | By L 17 I must request you will write immediately | Macaulay E 4.58 I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English | Collins M 204 writing to Mr. Jeffco, to beg he would let me know what Mr. Franklin had settled to do | ib 216 My lady

is much obliged, and begs you will come and lunch to-morrow at two.

18.65. A different irregularly mixed construction is frequent in Defoe: M 192 We had at that time another fire happened not a great way off | Rox 45 he told me he had a very difficult thing happened to him | R 281 Friday would fain have me took one of their canoes, and pursued them.

Cf. Karpf, SCh 135 f. and in Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen 253.

Subject + Infinitive after Verbal Phrase.

18.71. The symbol used in AnalSynt for a verbal phrase is W; it may take an ordinary object: *She waited on us* S W O. But it may also take a nexus consisting of an infinitive preceded by its subject, thus S W O(S_2I).

In comparatively rare cases we find the bare infinitive: this must be explained by influence from the synonymous expressions: *Listen to* = *hear*, *look at* = *see*.

Egerton K 33 holding an egg to her ear and listening to it cheep inside | James A 1.166 they should go again and listen to Madame Dandelard describe her sorrows | Merrick C 29 listening to the rain patter on the shrubs (also Childers R 127, Borden AS 125).

Thack P 1.107 *Look at* Lord Clodworthy come into a room with his wife | id V 351 Look at Glorvina enter a room | Maugham Pl 2.310 It amuses me to look at other people do things (also id HB 556).

Such constructions are blamed by many Britishers, who (wrongly) think them chiefly used in U. S.—Some examples are collected by F. Karpf in A Gramm. Miscellany 249 with reference to ESts 10.9 and other places in the same periodical.

18.72. The normal construction is with the *to*-in-

finitive. Verb + *on* (*upon*): Swift 3.365 I *looked upon* myself to be fully settled for life | Fielding T 1.92 he looked upon all such largesses to be diminutions of his own wealth | Scott A 2.18 I look on your friend to be apocryphal || Swift J 164 You may *count upon* all things in them to be true | Bennett PL 316 I felt sure I could count on you not to indulge in too much nonsense || Shelley L 539 *Depend on* the utmost caution to be used on my part || Doyle S 2.191 I rely upon you to be discreet || Fielding 3.263 she can hardly *prevail upon* him to eat || Trollope D 1.159 she had a right to *call upon* him to wait upon her.

Cf. Di D 258 reliant upon me to be proud; and in a relative contact-clause Galsw FS 959 There's nobody I can depend on to take a real interest.

Verb + *in:* GE A 286 *trust in me* to do everything that lies in my power | Galsw IC 143 her eyes never moved from his, as though she trusted in them to keep him at bay.

The construction is even found after a nexus-substantive: Londonderry Ourselves & Germ. 26 their horror of war and their belief in Herr Hitler to save Germany from war | NP 1935 Confidence in the Conservative Party to carry out a progressive policy.

Verb + *with:* Fielding T 2.206 if he could *prevail with* the young gentleman to return back to his father (generally *on*, see above).

Verb + *of:* Sh Ro I. 5.70 Verona *brags of* him To be a vertuous and well gouern'd youth | Jerrold C 69 I'm not *ashamed of* myself to talk so.

18.7a. Verb + *for:* This is quite regular with verbs which in other constructions, too, are combined with *for:*

Thack P 1.241 Pen *longed for* the three years to be over | GE A 1.176 without *waiting for* her to speak | Meredith E 17 he *wished for* her to have come to him | (Thack V 488 I wished and prayed for you to come) |

Hope Q 101 unless you *care for* me to do it, I don't care to do it | Galsw Sw 169 I don't think I should care for it to be known that I was selling pictures | Galsw P 10.62 [dial.] I *wanted for* yü to know, zurr, that ... | Mackenzie SA 153 you must be *prepared for* your children to bring you unhappiness.

We see the complete parallelism between this prepositional construction and the ordinary nexus in Kingsley H 122 longing for, and yet dreading, the three weary hours to be over.

18.74. The construction with *for* is more and more often extended to verbs which do not otherwise take *for*, and even tends to take the place of the ordinary infinitival nexus without any preposition. In some of the examples it is evoked by something intervening between the verb and the infinitive:

Mackenzie S 1.79 *dreading* many unfortunate events, as for the cabman to get down from his box and quarrel ... or for a railway accident to happen or for any of the uncomfortable contingencies to which travellers were liable | Philips L 293 he had *fixed* for the marriage to take place at eleven | Pinero B 235 I hardly know in what language you would *choose* for me to reply | GE S 38 you'd *like* better for us both to stay home together | Mackenzie S 1103 she wouldn't like for him to know anything (also Mason R 233, Galsw P 9.25) | OHenry B 48 I *hate* for you to be giving lessons | Walpole ST 107 I couldn't *bear* for us not to be friends | Phillpotts M 410 I *mean* afore all else for that woman to be happy | Mackenzie SA 246 I'd *sooner* for her to die than have her go to you [vulgar speaker] | Lowes Dickinson (in E.M. Forster 65) I suppose I don't much *deserve* for you to write to me | Galsw MW 315 I could *arrange* for you to be in the background | Tarkington Turm 171 she *planned* for you not to know about it until after .to-morrow | Allingham P 212 She *said* for you all to go in (This is curiously different from "She

told you all to go in": it was said to the speaker, not to those she wanted to go).

Extension of the Prepositional Construction.

18.81. We find in many other cases the subject of an infinitive preceded by a preposition.

Of after a nexus-substantive: Harpsfield M 46 for proofe of the marriage to be lawful | Mi A 58 under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded | GE A 312 there was no more need of them to think of parting || in expectation of something to turn up (this of course might be called an inf. as adjunct).

18.82. The preposition most often used is *for*.

First after substantives which may take *for* without an infinitive (gave orders for his reception | a fancy for bright dresses | a proposal for a subscription | Shelley: the desire of the moth for the star):

Fielding T 1.268 the good man gave immediate *orders* for all his family to be summoned round him | Meredith EH 11 on reading Lady R's card she gave orders for her to be shown up into the drawing-room | GE A 244 a struggle between the *desire* for him to notice her, and the dread lest she should betray the desire to others | Rea Six 56 I have a *fancy* for you and Roger and me to have a little celebration | Mackenzie SA 248 my *proposal* for you to let me assume the responsibility | Doyle S 1.114 so there was no *need* for father to know [= that father should know].—Cf. also Di OT 173 it was a night for the well-housed and fed to draw round the bright fire | Rhode Toll. Ridge 16 The first thing for me to do is to pay a few calls.

18.83. Similar constructions are quite natural after such adjectives as are habitually constructed with *for* (anxious for his own safety | sorry for the loss):

Austen P 330 he was *anxious* for his sister and herself to get acquainted (frequent) | GE Mm 199 I should

be *sorry* for them not to be good | Maxwell G 84 I should be sorry for you to think that.

18.84. The use of *for* is obvious after *too* and *enough*, as in Sh Shr II. 1.205 Too light for such a swaine as you to catch | Fielding T 1.68 the tempest was too high for her to be heard | Shelley 574 One word is too often profaned For me to profane it, One feeling too falsely disdained For thee to disdain it. One hope is too like despair For prudence to smother | GE M 1.269 Mr. Tulliver's own hand shook too much under his excitement for him to write himself | Hardy T 298 Am I too wicked for you and me to live together? | Kittredge Ball. Introd. XVI it often happens that the truth lies too far back for us to discover || Austen P 14 Mr. Darcy had been standing near enough for her to overhear a conversation between him and Mr. Bingley.

Cp. also Austen P 123 the discovery is made in time for me to pay my respects [= early enough for me].

18.85. The construction with *for* is extended to substantives which cannot otherwise be combined with *for:*

Sh Cæs II. 1.247 [you] gaue *signe* for me to leaue you | Di N 289 I gave *permission* for the infant to go | Shaw 2.26 the *decree* for our army to demobilize was issued yesterday | Hardy L 188 the *request* for her to come | Lansing Peace Negotiations 22 I thought the *plan* for him to attend was unwise | Meredith H 144 she asked one *favour* of you, sir:—for you to go and let her speak to you once before you go away | Mackenzie C 421 I'm not in a *hurry* for him to do anything.

18.86. Similarly to adjectives which generally use other prepositions (*keen* generally has *on*, *afraid*, *ashamed* have *of*, etc.).

Di X 58 Nor am I *afraid* for them to see it | GE M 2.220 shouldn't you be *glad* for me to have the same sort of happiness? | Mackenzie S 1.181 his mother was frightfully *keen* for Michael to stay with them | NP

1889 Nora's husband is *content* for her to be a doll | Mackenzie C 428 I'm *ashamed* for any of my friends to see what sort of man I've married | Walpole Cp 379 I was so *impatient* for you to come to God | id C 123 he was quite *willing* for every one else to do the same | Bennett T 45 We shall be only too *pleased* for Albert to take over the pew.

It should be noted that in nearly all sentences the combination of *for* and an infinitive denotes some vague possibility or something imagined. Take, e. g. Walpole RH 247 He was ashamed for the Japanese to see it = ashamed at the thought that the J. might possibly see it; here "ashamed of the J. seeing it" would imply that they did see it.

18.87. Further extensions of the *for* + S-construction before an infinitive. It often expresses a purpose, design, or determination:

Di N 292 I thought you had kindly left it [the book] here, on purpose for me to read | id T 1.115 in the pauses when she stopped for the Judge to write it down | Thack V 36 she held out her hand for him to shake | Meredith E 82 he placed himself at a corner of the doorway for her to pass him into the house | id T 167 he unwrinkled the letter carefully for it to be legible | id E 125 Vernon stood aside for her to enter | Belloc Mercy of Allah 6 My parents had but to give me an order for me to conceive at once some plan of disobeying it | Galsw MW 114 We'll have to go round by Lippinghall, for me to get some clothes | Bennett ECh 212 the tin mug with the hot water for Alexis to drink from.

To express a necessary condition the construction may be placed first: Locke HB 215 For the review to be any good, a man must throw his whole soul into it | NP 1924 but, for that to be possible, the Liberal party must continue to exist.

We often find *in order for* + SI:

Fielding T 4.23 she is now coming to town, in order for me to make my adresses to her | NP 1893 In order for a poet to be taken seriously by the public, it must first be abundantly clear that he takes himself seriously.

Cp. further Wells T 82 he went to sleep again, only for the dream to return with enhanced vividness | Mrs. Carlyle in Froude 3.168 I am for every herring to hang by its own head, every purse to stand on its own bottom.

18.8s. In a closely similar employment *for* stands before the name of the person for whom something is destined or reserved, or who is to do the thing denoted by the infinitive:

Dekker F 1025 let him liue like an owle for the world to wonder at | ib 2375 Englands treasorie shall stand, As free for thee to vse, as rayne from heauen | Marlowe H 7 his burning throne, Where she should sit for men to gaze vpon | Sh H4A I. 1.77 a conquest for a prince to boast of | Kemp Nine DW 6 a noted cut-purse, such a one as we tye to a poast on our stage, for all people to wonder at | Defoe M 103 a person who brought with him a general release for me to sign | Swift P 6 something ought to be left for ingenious readers to find out | Bosw 1.262 Bayle's Dictionary is a very useful work for those to consult who love the biographical part of literature | Rossetti 21 as if a window had been opened in heaven For God to give his blessing from | Di D 289 he had his rough arms wide open, as if for little Em'ly to run into them | Meredith E 42 he wanted her to be material in his hands for him to mould her | Barrie M 106 he dared not leave it there for Jean to discover | That is for you to decide | Mackenzie C 75 She must dance for all the world to gaze at her | Wells V 249 This isn't a world for an innocent girl to walk about in || Bentley TI 234 there's nowhere for a chair to stand.

Note here the use after *as*:

Austen P 344 are they upon such terms as for her to

disclose the real truth | Hunt A 290 I thought I should have turned the key so as for you not to hear it.

For means 'in exchange of' (the possibility of the happening denoted by the nexus):

Galsw C 180 He'd give his eyes for the case not to come on [= pay any sum to prevent the case from coming on] | Locke HB 270 There's nothing I wouldn't give for it not to have happened | Jameson F 243 I'd give anything for this not to have happened.

18.8₉. The popularity and wide extent of the *for* + infinitive constructions in recent English is shown by the fact that we sometimes find two of them in different senses in the same sentence:

Shaw 1.197 The only way for a woman to provide for herself decently is for her to be good to some man that can afford to be good to her | Phillpotts M 109 'Tis quite enough for me to offer advice, for him to scorn it | Gregory Discovery 192 For Evolution to proceed in any particular direction, it is necessary for variations in that direction to be encouraged continually, and for the trend of tendency of the parent to be inherited by the offspring.

Cp. the use of *for* in the following chapter.

Chapter XIX.

Subject + Infinitive in Other Employments.

As Subject or Predicative.

19.1₁. An infinitive with its subject may be the subject or predicative of an active sentence. Without a preposition this is not very frequent in English—less so now than in ME and ElE. Examples (see further Mätzner II. 2.20 Stoffel, Studies in Engl. 49 ff., Dubislav in Anglia 45.58, Zeitlin, Acc. w. Inf. 114 f.):

AR 364 is hit nu wisdom mon to don so wo him suluen? | Ten Commandments, ed. by Royster 27 oþer wiles it is lauful a man for to uson his wijf (but note ib 29 it is good þinge to a man not for to towchen a woman) | Ch T 3.1626 The worste kind of infortune is this, A man to have ben in prosperitee, And it remembren, when it passed is | Ch A 4318 Lo! swich it is a millere to be fals (without *to* ib 2288) | id B 1031 Now was this child as lyke unto Custance As possible is a creature to be | Townl. M 237 It is shame you to bete hym | More U 94 And verelye on man to lyue in pleasure, whyles all other wepe ... that is the parte of a iayler | Malory 60 it is better that we slée a coward than thorow a coward alle we to be slayne | ib 453 Thou to lye by our moder is to muche shame for vs to suffre | ib 67 it is gods wyll youre body to be punysshed | Lyly E 35 It happened this young Impe to ariue at Naples | Eastw 439 as good she spoile the lady, as the lady spoile her | Sh Tim IV. 3.266 I to beare this, that neuer knew but better, is some burthen | Wint V. 1.42 Which ... Is all as monstrous ... As my Antigonus to breake his graue | Gent V. 4.109 It is the lesser blot, modesty findes, Women to change their shapes, then men their minds | Goldsm V 1.31 one almost at the verge of beggary thus to assume language of the most insulting affluence, might excite the ridicule of ill-nature | Wells Inv 2 A guest to stop at Iping in the winter time was an unheard-of piece of luck | Lawrence L 63 It is rather funny, you to be talking of power and of not being irritated.

The analysis in such cases is $S(S_2I)$ V..., or with *it* s V P $S(S_2I)$—the whole nexus, and not its subject alone, being the subject of the main verb.

In ME a pronoun might here be in the oblique form, see examples Stoffel, p. 51. Zeitlin, p. 131 and other places.—Some of the examples given in Progr. in L. § 164 = ChE § 62 approach this construction.

19.12. The ordinary thing, however, in ModE is to have a preposition before the S. This in rare cases is *to:* Ch B 2793 it is a greet shame to a man to have a povere herte and a riche purs | Wycliffe 1. Cor 7.1 it is good to a man to touche not a woman | Swift J 392 it is usual to writers to condemn the judgment of the world.

The prepositional group is more closely connected with *is* than with the infinitive.

19.13. In the vast majority of cases the preposition is *for*, and English here presents a peculiar development, which has many points of contact with the enormous extension of the use of *for* before the subject of an infinitive, as described above 18.7 and 18.8.

The prepositional group is gradually disconnected from the word or words with which it was originally closely connected; it comes to be used in places and in combinations in which the original meaning of the preposition is excluded: *for* becomes the mere grammatical sign of the subject (S) of the infinitival nexus.

19.14. The starting points is a type of sentence which presents nothing unusual and must have been very common indeed. As a representative example I take AV 1. Cor. 7.1 (a translation of the Gr. "kalon anthrōpōi gunaikos mē haptesthai") it is good for a man not to touch a woman. *It* is the preparatory subject, representing the infinitive "not to touch a woman". This negative attitude is what is good for a man. Most of the early examples given by Zeitlin, Acc. w. Inf. p. 139 f. may be analyzed in this way, and similarly nearly all the examples found in NED *for* 18.

A good many sentences of this type are double-barrelled and present the possibility of a "metanalysis", by which "It is good for a man | not to touch a woman" may come to be apprehended "It is good | for a man not to touch a woman". Here the question is, What is good? And the answer is "for a man not to touch a

woman''. What at first was a prepositional complement of the adjective, thus becomes virtually the subject of the infinitive. The old s V P(2 pl) S(I^n O) thus becomes s V P S(pS_2 I^n O).

The original analysis applies to AV Mat 14.4 it is not lawful for thee to haue her (Gr. ouk exesti soi ekhein autēn; Lat. non licet tibi habere eam; OE nys þe alyfed hi to wife to hæbbenne), and more or less clearly to cases like these:

More U 68 And no lesse ieopardie it is for a free man to receyue moneye of a seruinge man . . . and lykewyse for seruynge men to touche weapons | Swift J 441 it was reckoned as a wrong step in politics for Lord Treasurer to open himself so much | id 3.213 it was easy from the great advantage of such a superior situation, for a prince to bring under his obedience whatever country lay within the attraction of the magnet | Sh H5 IV. 1.18 'Tis good for men to loue their present paines | Austen P 107 there was not time for her even to mention his name.

19.15. A few examples of 'double-barrelled' sentences which admit both analyses:

Fielding T 1.285 It is common for the combatants to express good-will for each other | ib 1.303 It is no slight matter for a man of my character to be thus injuriously treated | Carlyle H 52 It has ever been held the highest wisdom for a man not merely to submit to necessity | Doyle S 2.218 It was no uncommon thing for him to be away days and nights on end | Bennett ECh 153 It was a rather wild thing for me to do.

19.16. In the following sentences the new analysis appears to me to be clear enough, though in some of them it is shown by the whole context only.

More U 100 it is not possible for all thynges to be well | Swift J 520 'Tis nothing for people to be denied ten times | Lamb R 91 it was the custom for the players to receive their weekly stipend on the Saturday | Col-

lins M 356 it was against his rules for me to be in the library at that time of day | Di D 235 It soon passed into a custom for Mr. Dick to come on as a matter of course | GE A 135 things which it isn't God's will for us to have | ead M 1.119 it'll perhaps be safer for 'em to come [= safer to me that they should come, safer for me to let them come] | ib 299 I don't think it would be right for my aunt Moss to pay the money [= to let her pay it], if it would be against my father's will for her to pay it | Thack V 165 It wasn't considered the part of a gentleman, in my time, for a man to insult his father | Mackenzie C 433 It's no good for you to start off [= your starting would be no good] | Philips L 206 May I ask you when it will suit your convenience for me to pay my P. P. C. visit this afternoon?

19.2₁. The new analysis may be shown in various ways; in writing a comma shows that the *for*-combination is to be taken to the infinitive:

BJo A 4.418 It is the Spanish fashion, for the women To make first court | Fielding 5.562 it is a scandalous way of travelling, for a great gentleman like you to walk a-foot | Meredith E 395 Is it just, for me to be taken up and cast down at your will? | Galsw D 171 It would not help a single soul, for them to murder their love.

19.2₂. The new analysis is made quite clear by the nature of the S in Doyle M 80 it is a rare thing for a night to pass without one or other of us having to trudge off | Walpole Cp 111 it's so tiresome to have taken so much trouble and then for it to be all wrong— and by the insertion of *here and there* in Meredith E 18 it is worth while for here and there a woman to be burnt.

Cp. also the 'preliminary subject' s/3 *there* in World's Work 1907. 432 at a period when corn is in bloom it is desirable for there to be what meteorologists denominate light airs.

19.2₃. Word-order often shows clearly the new analysis: the whole nexus with *for*, etc., may be placed after *was*, *is*, etc.

Bosw 1.287 when the custom was for each passenger to give only sixpence | Austen M 67 the properest thing was for him to walk down to the parsonage | Thack V 82 What I like best, is for a nobleman to marry a miller's daughter. And what I like next best, is, for a poor fellow to run away with a rich girl | id P 3.210 the great point in marriage is for people to agree to be useful to one another | Meredith E 201 What is wisest now is, in my opinion, for you to resolve to stay | Doyle M 168 to do without it now would be for the man who cannot swim to throw off his life-belt | Kipling J1 93 the custom of most Indian villages is for a few boys to take the cattle out to graze in the early morning | Maxwell F 209 my dream has been for Ruth to marry a man who wouldn't altogether take her away from me.

19.2₄. Even clearer is the new analysis when the *for*-combination as a whole is placed before the verb. This stage in the development was definitely reached in the Elizabethan era, when these sentences became extremely frequent. Zeitlin has an isolated earlier quotation More U, ed. Lupton, p. 228 But for the husbande to put away his wyfe ... thys by no meanes they will suffre. But in Arber's reprint 124 the same passage shows the earlier construction without *for:* Howbeit the husbande to put away his wife ....

Shakespearean and later quotations: Hml III. 2.317 For, for me to put him to his purgation, would perhaps plunge him into far more choller | R2 II. 2.123 For vs to leuy power Proportionate to th'enemy, is all impossible (also Cymb III. 5.5, Cor II. 2.13, II. 2.34 and II. 3.10, Oth III. 4.4) | Mi PL 8.250 for a man to tell how human life began Is hard | Bunyan P 95 he said that for a man to watch over his words and ways

... would make me the ridicule of the time | Defoe R 39 for me to do wrong that never did right, was no great wonder (ib 45) | Fielding T 4.95 for me to dispute that would be all as one, as for you to dispute the management of a pack of dogs | Goldsm 625 For Miss Richland to undertake setting him free, I own, was quite unexpected | Di P 207 For a lame man to have got upon his legs without any previous notice, and walked off, would have been most extraordinary | GE Mm 55 for anything to happen in spite of her was an offensive irregularity | Gosse F 13 For it to dawn upon her consciousness that she wished for something, was definitely to renounce that wish | Bennett L 26 For you to stop here is an outrage against common-sense.

19.25. The *for* + infinitive construction may be placed after *than*, where it may be considered the subject of an understood verb. Where the AV Luke 16.17 has the construction without *for* after *than:* And it is easier for heauen and earth to passe, then one title of the law to faile—the RV has ... than for one tittle of the law to fall. Zeitlin adduces one example from 1553 and one from Bacon, but the construction does not seem to become frequent till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Examples: Sh Tro III. 2.85 thinking it harder for our mistresse to deuise imposition inough, then for vs to vndergoe any difficultie | Pepys $^{4}/_{11}$ 1666 [q] nothing can wrong my eyes more than for me to use reading glasses | Defoe Rox 4 What is more shocking than for a woman to ... blush for him every time she hears him speak | Swift 3.62 the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ such men (id T 121) | Fielding T 3.483 What can be more ridiculous than for gentlemen to quarrel about hats | Coleridge B 24 nothing is more common than for the many to mistake the liveliness of his nature | Thack E 1.160 there is no greater crime than for a woman,

who is ill-used and unhappy, to show that she is so | id P 89 I don't know anything more painful than for a man to marry his superior in age | Di P 573 Nothing could be easier than for the gentleman to enclose a letter in a sheet of brown paper.

19.26. Similarly after *as:*

Dekker G 61 to bid any of the vintners good-night, is as commendable as for a barber after trimming to lave your face with sweet water | Austen E 62 Nothing so easy as for a young lady to raise her expectations too high.

After *but:* Austen M 71 There was nothing to be done but for Mrs. G to alight and the others to take their places | GE M 2.259 Nothing was wanted, then, but for dear Tom, who always had that pleasant smile ... to turn completely round.

19.27. When the new construction had become perfectly established, it became possible in the same sentence to have first a prepositional group (with *to* or, more rarely, *for*) as a complement to an adjective, etc., in what was the original meaning of *for* in this combination, and then the *for*-construction:

Austen P 80 it might seem disrespectful to his memory for me to be on good terms with [his enemy] | Bridges E 170 the use of any inconventionality in spelling has of late years been too great a disadvantage to authors for them to venture it | (NP) It is, indeed, of great use to healthy women for them to cycle | Wells TB 1.228 how painful it was to Marion for these people to witness my rebellion | Lawrence L 143 Because it must be unfair to you for me to go on with this affair | Maxwell S 184 If you fell it would be a relief to you for me to know exactly where you have been | Bennett Acc 144 I don't see how anybody can say it's very polite to a wife for a husband to rush after her as Jack has done | Shaw 1.197 The only way for a woman to provide for herself decently is for her to be good to some man that

can afford to be good to her | Phillpotts M 109 'Tis quite enough for me to offer advice, for him to scorn it.

Let me add the following sentences, in which the *for*-combination is the S of a nexus-object and as such represented by *it:*

Meredith RF 202 he esteemed it almost a personal insult for his hearers not to laugh | Stockton Lady 126 the journals evidently considered it an insult for me to send them inferior matter | Hamerton E. & Fr. 2.154 Englishmen of the last generation would have considered it unfeminine for a woman to make political speeches.

19.2s. Through the development of the last few centuries English has acquired a much used construction *for* + S + infinitive, which forms a convenient supplement to the ordinary S + infinitive as object of a verb ('accusative with infinitive') as it can be used in a number of cases in which the other construction is not possible, thus

(a) in the beginning of a sentence: for a man to tell ... is hard.

(b) separated from the governing verb: what I like best is for a nobleman to marry ..., cf. I like a nobleman to marry ....

(c) after *than* and *as:* nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ ....

(d) after substantives: It is my wish for you to be happy; cf. I wish you to be happy—and adjectives: I was so impatient for you to come.

These for-constructions have been dealt with by myself in the Festschrift to Viëtor 1910, by Zeitlin, Acc. w. Inf. and Journ. E. & G. Phil. 1911, 650, by Poutsma I(II) 816, Deutschbein SNS 172, Einenkel, Hist. Synt. XII, Franz 546, and Borst EStn 40.248. In Norwegian a similar development has taken place, see e. g. Lie Rutl. 120 der var ikke tale om for Polly at følge | Hamsun Markens gr. 2.15 Men det var ikke nogen

mening i, for en bondegut at staa og høre paa at .... Cf. also Western Riksmålsgr. 365.

Split Subject with Infinitive.

The subject of a sentence may consist of two separated elements, one the subject belonging to an infinitive, and the other the infinitive itself. If these are separated, we use the term split subject; cf. split object in 18.5_2.

With a Passive Verb.

19.3₁. The most frequent occurrence of split subjects is with the passive of the infinitival constructions dealt with in Ch. XVIII. Many examples of this "Nominative with infinitive" are collected in Poutsma vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 818 ff. From my own collections I give the following examples arranged roughly according to the order in Ch. XVIII. The analysis of "He was seen to nod" is $\frac{1}{2}$S V^b $\frac{1}{2}$S(I).

Note the frequency of *to* where the active has the bare infinitive. This is due partly to the distance between S and I, partly to the fact that the passive constructions are not used to the same extent in colloquial speech as the active.

Compare with this passive the adjunctal use of the participle, e. g. in Galsw FS 549 What price, indeed! A new expression, and believed to be due to her brother.

19.3₂. Examples:

Pinero BD 263 John is *seen* to slightly push aside the portière | Galsw FS 546 they were seen to just touch each other's hands || Di P 423 With these words Mr. Weller left the room, and immediately afterwards was *heard* to shut the street-door | Huxley (NED) It may be *taken* roughly to represent one inch of rain | Galsw FS 103 He was *believed* to have a bedroom at the back | ib 288 Mrs. MacAnder was *known* to contribute articles to 'The Ladies' Kingdom Come' | Maugham Alt

504 Hassan could not be *trusted* to be silent | He was *found* to be alive in spite of all | Christie LE 73 the police are always *made out* to be as blind as bats in detective stories || Sh Mids I. 1.238 And therefore is Loue *said* to be a child.

It is worth noting that the corresponding active construction with $O(S_2I)$ is not found after *say*.

Further: Ernest Bramah in BDS 448 He ... is *reputed* to be devilish hard to get money out of | he is *reported* to have lost five pounds | a man is *accounted* to be innocent until he is *proved* to be guilty || Galsw FS 636 one couldn't be *expected* to feel much for others || Bacon A 3.17 if they were not *permitted* to land | Goldsm 114 she is permitted to live | ib 638 friends, whose happiness it will be to be permitted to oblige you | Mi A 24 they must not be *suffered* to prattle as they do | Macaulay E 1.286 Catholic disabilities and Jewish disabilities have been suffered to exist so long | Swift 3.166 thus much I may be *allowed* to say | Macaulay E 1.288 they are allowed to accumulate large fortunes | Di (q) He was *wanted* to bleed the prince | Temple Thurston (q) letters that she was not *meant* to see | Kaye Smith HA 248 The wedding had always been *planned* to take place in London || More U 225 the offenders be *forbydden* euer after to marry | Sh Hml I. 5.13 I am forbid To tell the secrets of my prison-house | Mi A 10 Bishops were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles | Hawthorne S 233 an elfish spirit, who is forbidden to cross a running stream || id 1.424 if each generation were allowed and expected to build its own houses | Shaw TT 201 He was not only allowed but *challenged* to defend himself | Bunyan P 130 he was *bid* stand by | Gissing G 374 she knocked, was bidden enter, and ... | Macaulay E 1.295 A Christian is *commanded* to be just in all his dealings | id H 2.34 This sum he was *instructed* to dole out cautiouslv |

McCarthy 2.393 they were *ordered* and paid to punis offenders [N.B. the two verbs are not exactly parallel]

It would not be possible to say "the table was ordered t be removed" as a passive to "he ordered the table to be re moved".

Hope F 17 she was, as boys say, "*dared*" to mak Father Stafford talk to her (cf. *challenged* above wit *allow*) || Sh Cymb V. 3.61 hee'l do as he is *made* t doo | Quincey 84 I and my nurse had been mad to rest | Di X 190 The bird that can sing and won't sing, must be made to sing | Thack N 79 I am made to dine with the children | Ridge L 144 supposing nobody ever asks you.—They must be made to | Shaw 2.282 I began using it [soap] as a boy because I was made to ... I was taught to put up with them, and made to put up with them | Galsw FS 543 James must not be *encouraged* to be fussy.

19.3₃. The construction without *to* is rarer:

Swift T 10 your highness is to be made believe that .. | Shaw C 166 it wasnt pleasant to be made feel like a good-for-nothing little brat | id P 15 shutting the door sharply as if even it had to be made do its duty | id Ms 188 Ive been made scream with pain in other ways.

With *let* in the passive the infinitive without *to* is not at all rare, especially in the short combinations *let go* (18.5₁), *let fall*.

Ch HF 434 the stoon That from th'engyne is leten goon | AV Acts 4.23 And being *let goe*, they went t their owne company | Caine M 50 ropes were let go | Maxwell G 429 you're always asking to be let go. You go too far—much too far—when you're let go | Shaw 1.33 if it had been let go much longer | Defoe Rox 166 this vanity was raised by some words *let fall* by a person | Swift T 21 the least reflecting word let fall

against the people was immediately caught up | Hewlett Q 170 a word lightly let fall by the Queen | Bridges E 81 as a dead stone, from a height let fall | Stevenson M 104 the corner of the blind was lifted and let fall | Shaw A 173 In the house I'm not let do a hand's turn for myself.

Ru P 2.22 the best drawings were always let pass | Hardy W 254 they ought to be let know | ib 160 I shall ask to be let carry half of these good things in my innerds | Masefield C 98 you'll never be let settle down | Shaw Ms 224 If I'm not let marry her, I'll do something downright disgraceful | ib 215 Are we children not to be let do what we like? | id J 216 you wont be let drink | id TT 227 they must be let talk (many examples in Shaw) | Wells Blw 223 it was good enough for her to be let retain me | Maxwell F 259 The half would be let remain on mortgage | Galsw Frat 321 I want to be let come | Dane FB 22 you won't be let say good-bye to your ma if you can't be good | Sayers GN 189 What a pity you weren't let know, miss.

Some English correspondents object to this (e. g. Shaw Ms 224) as not being colloquial English nowadays.

But *to*, too, is frequent: Sh Hml IV. 6.11 if your name be Horatio, as I am let to know it is | Thack V 256 We shall be let to go home quietly | id N 420 France, where they would assuredly be let to enter without passports | Di D 127 you might be let to go along with me (also F 567, 568, 787) | Collins W 73 His beard was shaven on his chin, but was let to grow ... on his cheeks (also 64) | Morris N 17 the trees were let to grow | Rose Macaulay O 108 I was never let to go.

19.34. This passive construction is found with some verbs which in the active are rarely (or even never) found with an infinitival nexus-object:

Wells TB 2.242 That should have been the last I saw of her, but, indeed, I was destined to see her once again | id OH 203 In this worship of Serapis we see

the most remarkable anticipations of usages and forms of expression that were destined to dominate the European world throughout the Christian era | Mencken AL 67 [in 1816] Bryant had already written "Thanatopsis" and was destined to publish it the year following | Bennett W 2.282 the event had been bound to happen | Macaulay H 2.31 England was bound by a treaty to resist any attempt which France might make on those provinces.

Here *is bound to* = 'must', even where one cannot think of any 'binding': this was bound to surprise them.

19.3₅. Corresponding passive constructions with verbal phrases (W, see the active in 18.7):

Russell FO 183 magistrates and clergymen could be relied upon to neglect their duty; the formula would be ½S v W^{b} ½S(IO) | Borden AS 94 [he was] the kind to be counted on never to lose his nerve.

With an Active Verb.

19.3₆. In the following cases too, we have really a split subject (cf. the fuller treatment in vol. III 11.3$_4$ f.):

She happened to notice it ½S V ½S(IO) | if he chance to nod | he is sure to come | we shall be certain to miss him | she is not likely to be up so early.

The natural question is not "Who happened?", but "What happened?", and the notional subject is *she . . . to notice it.*

This construction with *happen* should be kept apart from cases like Mannin RS (p. ?) she hoped desperately that something would happen to make running away unnecessary—in which *happen* is complete in itself and the *to*-infinitive is a kind of adjunct to *something.*

Doubtful cases: She seemed (appeared) to be innocent (cf. above 17.3$_6$) she | proved to be innocent (cf. she was proved to be innocent, above 19.3$_2$).

19.3₇. With *likely* note also the use as an adjunct in

Rhode Murd. in Praed Str. 195 It was the most unlikely thing in the world to happen—in which the infinitive specifies *unlikely*. I give here some additional examples of various earlier constructions:

Ch C 63 the compaignye Where likly was to treten of folye | Sh R3 IV. 2.53 That Anne, my wife, is sick and like to die | Bunyan P 89 one that had like to have done me a mischief | Swift 3.177 the first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock | Spect 117 he maintained his post till he had like to have been blown up | Fielding 4.126 a fever which had like to have cost me my life | Cowper L 1.332 it had like to have been too much for my greenhouse | Thack N 301 Our negotiations had like to have come to an end by Clive's untimely indignation ... but nothing came of this | Garnett T 28 her heart swelled till it was like to burst.

Cf. vol. IV. 10.8(4) on the perfect infinitive.

There.

19.41. The place of the S in the combination O(SI) may be taken by the "existential" *there*, generally, though in this case not always, with weak stress and the indistinct vowel [ə]. Symbol 3/s. This is particularly frequent after *let:* Gamelyn 519 lat ther noon flee | Sh Ado II. 3.221 Let there be the same net spread for her (also Meas I. 1.49) | H4A IV. 3.108 let there be impawn'd Some suretie (and Cymb II. 4.108) | AV Gen 1.3 Let there be light (also Mi PL 7.243) | AV Est 1.19 let there go a royall commandement from him | ib 2.2 let there bee faire yong virgins sought for the king | Di D 46 let there be an end of this (Trollope D 1.95 .... end to it) | Swinburne L 225 So don't let there be anyone put out on such a foolish account as that.

19.42. After other verbs (only from the 19th c.?): Benson D 175 she wished there to be no misunderstanding on this point | id 2.318 there is no good in

saying that. I did not mean there to be | Hope R 6 the ancients held there to be a fate | id Z 260 I knew there to be none | Malet C 50 I want there to be another Richard Calmady | Wells Br 50 You would expec there to be discussion at the table | Bennett C 2.27 I don't want there to be any misunderstanding | id 1 83 you'd like there to be a revolution in this country

It does not seem possible to say: I shall *make* ther (to) be no mistake. But after *cause* Lang Lett. on Lit 108 that taste for evil which causes there to be some thing not wholly displeasing in the misfortunes of ou friends.

19.4₃. This use of *there* is even possible after *for* Butler W 31 there was not enough in him for there t be any chance of his turning his dreams into realities London M 110 it was impossible for there to be no con nection.

But after *account for* and other similar verbal phrase (W) we have the gerund: this might account for there being something rather odd about Bags (above 9.7_9)

Subject + Infinitive forming a Tertiary.

19.5₁. An infinitive with its subject may form a nexus-tertiary comparable to those mentioned in ch. VI. The formula is 3(SP(I)), the infinitive having the same meaning as in *I am to go* (15.4) and in a way standing for *being to*—, which is avoided (note the quotation Defoe R 45 in 19.5_2).

The phenomenon is dealt with, but not always apprehended in the same way as here, in Alphonso Smith, St. in E. Synt. 57 n., Einenkel in Paul's Grundriss² 18(μ) ff., Kellner, Blanch. § 29, Jespersen, Progr. § 164, Zeitlin, Acc. w. Inf. 163, Kruisinga § 392.

19.5₂. Examples: LondE 54 til god ȝiue hym grace of recoueraunce, he to preye & bidde for alle breþeren (also ib 59 and 210; other early examples in Zeitlin) |

[Ch E 354 And neuer ye to grucche it, nyght ne day] | Fulg 7 This matter was brought before the cenate They to giue therin an vtter sentence | Marlowe J 293 the tribute money of the Turkes shall all be leuyed amongst the Jewes, and each of them to pay one halfe of his estate | Defoe R 45 as I had directed in my will, one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be ship'd to England | ib 2.194 we divided it; he to speak to the Spaniards, and I to the English | Bosw 2.193 endowing a school or college there, the master to be a clergyman of the Church of England | Di D 2 in a raffle ... the winner to spend five shillings | McCarthy 2.245 Schleswig should be governed independently of the kingdom of Denmark, the King of Denmark to be the ruler of this State as the Emperor of Austria is King of Hungary | Oppenheim Prod. Monte C. 36 he would take us down on Thursday week for two months, all our expenses to be paid | Kaye Smith GA 39 he offered Robert twenty-three shillings a week, and Clem thirteen, both of them to pay a fixed sum weekly towards their food | Freeman Th 713 he proposed to Bland that they should start one or two picture theatres in the provinces, Bland to find the money ... and Wicks to provide the technical knowledge.

Chapter XX.

Final Remarks on Infinitives.

Passive.

20.11. There are some problems with regard to infinitives in passive sentences, see e. g. Storm EPh 693 (Vertauschung des subjekts), Stoffel EStn 31.109, Fowler MEU Double passives, and s. v. *hope*.

As *he ought* = 'he has the duty', precisians object to

sentences like *he ought to be punished* because it is the duty of others to punish him. Yet this is now settled usage, and seems just as correct as *must* and *should be punished*. Examples: Carlyle FR 492 Tatters of old Feudality, which ought to be rooted out! | Hope F 41 he ought to be shown that picture | Galsw SS 204 Ought she to be cabled to?

Cf. *dare*, which cannot mean 'have the courage to' in Gordon God's Remnants 18 her name dared not be mentioned in Zelig's presence—and *am able* = 'can', as in More U 234 mo [lawes] then be able to be readde.

The equivalence of *am obliged to* and *must* leads naturally to sentences like Austen E 58 this was obliged to be repeated before it could be believed | Hunt A 351 the metal pintles of the rudder were all broken, and new ones obliged to be made | Di P 240 the leather hat-box was obliged to be raked up from the lowest depth | id N 764 something which was obliged to be ironed again before it was fit for service. Thus often with *is bound to*.

20.1₂. Similarly *had better:* Di P 174 What had better be done, then? | Benson C 41 perplexity as to what had better be done | Galsw SS 104 Anything you have to say had better be said in each other's presence | Chesterton F 162 it had better be taken back to its owner | Matthews A 132 our vices had best be made known to us as soon as possible.

A better way is found in Ward E 449 he divined mysteries that were best avoided | Williamson Wedding Day 37 Sleeping dogs are better left to lie | Asterisk, Gone Native 219 But perhaps that was best not thought about || Harpsfield M 46 what way were best to be taken.

20.1₃. What is the passive of *they began to build the house?* (cf. NED s. v. *begin*). Some literary quotations for the double passive: Mandv 40 when the grete tour of Babel was begonnen to be made | Gay BP 96 Majesty

it-self is endeavour'd to be brought into ridicule | Defoe P 45 all the plays and interludes were forbidden to be acted | id R 2.90 three towns were begun to be planted | Sheridan in Fam. Speeches 218 a sort of distinction which was endeavoured to be taken by the learned Counsel | By L 214 doors ... had been locked, and then afterwards forgotten to be re-opened | ib 244 the remittances due to me ... and promised by him to be sent by every post | Austen S 27 a satisfaction which was but feebly attempted to be concealed | Di T 2.65 as if nothing had ever been omitted to be done | id D 774 something was wanted to be written home | id Do 412 the shut-up house (forgotten to be opened, though it was long since day) | Phillpotts K 191 I let him know what was intended to be done.

Cf. also Kipling P 192 I saw what things were needed to be done | Ruskin Sel 1.414 when it is needed to be done | London A 94 No blows were needed to be struck.

Fowler condemns "the King is hoped to be present" as a monstrosity.

On *easy to see* and *to be seen* cf. 17.4 ff.

Isolated Infinitive.

20.21. As in Fr. (Que faire? | Où aller? | Mais par quelle raison lui faire un mystère de votre amour? Molière) and perhaps at first in imitation of Fr., an infinitive may stand alone in an interrogative sentence. (Cf. Diez Gr. 3.230 ff.).

What to do? | Where to go? | When (What time) to start? | How to be Happy though Married (Book-title).

NED (*to* 16 b) has some literary quotations from 1713 to 1875.

In most cases *to* is required, but after *how* the bare infinitive is also found: Galsw ECh 725 But how tell one who looked and spoke like that? | id FS 1076 How leave her there? [= How could he?] | Rhode Praed Str. 79 And

then again, how account for the despatch of the numbered counters?

20.2₂. After *why* the bare infinitive is used:

Why talk so much about it? | Why not do it at once? | Galsw FS (p. ?) But why give the thing to him to do? | Dreiser F 12 Why complain so bitterly now?

Thus also *wherefore:*

Shelley 267 wherefore speak the name of death? | ib 634 Men of England, wherefore plough For the lords who lay ye low?

The use and non-use of *to* would seem to suggest that the constructions are felt as elliptical: What (am I, is one) to do? | Why (should you, don't we) do it at once?

20.2₃. The same construction is very frequent in dependent clauses, chiefly after expressions of doubt and uncertainty:

Juliana 30 nuste hwet seggen (= ne savait que dire) | Ch MP 4.214 My righte lady ... not [ne woot] to whom to pleyne | id R 3047 That she ne wite what to do | ib 6405 I wot where to pleyne wel | Ch T 4.1256 if a wight ... seketh nought how holpen for to be | Malory 714 he wyste not what to doo | Caxton R 98 yf I wyste how to escape | Roister 15 a woman whome I knowe not by what meanes to moue | ib 17 I can scarce finde what aunswere to make | Marlowe J 2297 To giue thee knowledge when to cut the cord | Sh H4A IV. 3.52 the King knowes at what time to promise, when to pay | H4B V. 2.30 Though no man be assur'd what grace to finde | Bacon A 14.23 it was a thing wee could not tell what to make of | Bunyan P 179 they knew not which of the two [ways] to take | Defoe R 277 they did not know which way to run | Swift 3.365 he was at a loss how to begin | id J 314 I am contriving how to stop up my grate with bricks | Defoe R 16 uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead | Goldsmith 635 we have been utterly at a loss how to proceed | Austen M 225 Fanny did not know which

way to look, or how to be prepared for the answer | Di P 511 Seeing that he was confused and agitated, and uncertain what to do, Mr. Pickwick cut the matter short | ib 597 He ... stood for a few seconds as if irresolute what to say or how to act | id N 747 they hesitated whether or no to send after him | Collins M 158 Rosanna came to a standstill, evidently in great perplexity what to do next | Doyle B 141 one who is at his wits' end what to do | Stevenson M 79 Will hardly knew whether to laugh or cry (note that such clauses must be introduced by *whether*, never *if*) | id K 14 I was in two minds whether to run away | Maugham Pl 3.39 you have got more money than you know what to do with | Allen A 104 For eleven generations his family had known how, where and when to draw.

Opinions are divided as to the possibility of saying "I don't know *why* complain."

After some verbs like *learn* and *teach* we may have both *to* + inf. and *how to* + inf., but after *know* and *understand* the construction with *how to* is the rule.

He knows (understands, has learnt; taught, advised me) how to cook rice properly—this emphasizes the manner more than in the equally possible sentence without *how* (with the inf. as simple object).

In rare cases the clause may be the subject of a sentence: How to begin is more difficult than where to stop | Galsw F 307 Whether or no to tell her of the 'kick-up' exercised his mind.

20.24. Such clauses are even found after prepositions:

Hope Ch 68 I want your advice as to whether to send it or not | Wilde Im 13 you have had very little experience in how to propose | Galsw Sw 51 He had formed his own opinion of how to settle the matter | Plunket Greene E 18 smartly dressed men and women arguing about where to sit.

20.25. Such interrogative clauses lead to relative constructions:

Ch A 302 hem that yaf him wherwith to scoleye [= the means to study] | id C 216 never thou deservedest wherfore To dyen with a swerd | AV Mat 8.20 the sonne of man hath not where to lay his head | Milton A 41 having where so plenteously to refresh his magazin | ib 42 Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justifie himself, that he preacht in publick | Scott Iv 88 unless thou shouldst have wherewith to pay their value.

20.2₆. The two following quotations show the literary, half archaic use of *the wherewithal* = 'the means'.

Stevenson B 158 I may have the wherewithal to shame Sir Daniel | Galsw F 372 he was arranging the wherewithal to eat.

Without the article Cowper L 2.297 to put sixpence in your mouth when they bury you, that you may have wherewithal to pay me.

20.2₇. In vol. III 1.1₈ (where I was not concerned with the use of the infinitive) I gave some quotations for "he had nowhere to go". A few more may be placed here:

Wells B 30 in order to have somewhere to put his feet | Shaw A 189 I have nowhere else to go to but father's | Lawrence L 94 So you've nowhere to go | Galsw SS 299 Except the floor, there seemed nowhere to sit | id WM 80 Having somewhere to come and sit and receive a certain sympathy ... was of incalculable advantage | Maugham HB 574 Philip looked for somewhere to put his hat.

Historical Infinitive.

20.3₁. A loose infinitive corresponding to the historical infinitive in French and other languages was formerly in use in English, but has never been frequent. Ch T 2.1108 And she to laughe, it thoughte hir herte breste.—Other examples, not all of them really belonging here, see Kellner Outlines 252 f., Dubislav

Beitr. zur histor. Syntax 1909 p. 1 f., NED *to* 18 (the last one there, Pepys 1668 "I ... away home ... and there to read again and sup with Gibson" *I* take to be an inf. of purpose in P's abbreviated style).

In Ireland one may according to Joyce Ir 45 hear such sentences as: "How did the mare get that hurt?" "Oh Tom Cody to leap her over the garden wall yesterday, and she to fall on her knees on the stones".

Many isolated infinitives with ellipses of various kinds are collected in E. Scholz's Berlin dissertation Der absolute Infinitive bei Shakespeare, 1908.

Infinitive of Deprecation.

20.32. In the same way as the combination of a subject and a predicative mentioned in vol. III 17.8$_3$ we have a subject with an infinitive, in which an idea is brushed aside as impossible by means of an (exaggerated) interrogative intonation (cf. also PhilGr 130); several quotations (from Sh down to Galsworthy) were printed in *Negation*, p. 23 f. To these may be added:

BJo P III. 2.27 A friend, and mocke me thus! | Congreve 118 O inconsistent! in love, and not write! | Goldsmith 657 For shame, Tony. You a man, and behave so! | Austen S 284 Colonel Brandon give me a living!—Can it be possible? | Scott Lady L 5.4 warrior thou, and ask me why! | Di Do 314 "Heaven forbid that you should learn from me!"—"Not learn from you?" repeated Florence in surprise | GE (where?) I say anything disrespectful of Dr. Kenn? Heaven forbid! | Smedley F 119 I help you down! | Thack P 6 My nephew marry a tragedy queen! | ib 249 The Fotheringay affair ... shocked and outraged Miss Laura. A Pendennis fling himself away on such a woman as that! Helen's boy galloping away from home day after day, to fall on his knees to an actress, and drink with her horrid father! A good son want to bring such a man

and such a woman into his house, and set her over his mother! | ib (T) 1.218 "That milksop of a creature pretend to be worthy of such a woman as Mrs. Pendennis," broke out the Doctor: "Where will impudence stop next!" | Hughes T (p. ?) you fresh from Rugby, and not know your Thucydides better than that? | Macaulay H 2.11 The Queen implored pardon ... "She ask my pardon, poor woman!" cried Charles; "I ask hers with all my heart."

Note the use of *and* in some of these.

20.3₃. In a similar way the bare infinitive is repeated from a preceding finite form in:

Sh H4A II 4.161 and yee call mee coward, Ile stab thee.—I call thee coward? Ile see thee damn'd | Maugham Pl 2.124 How you must have hated it!—Hate it? I've never been so happy in my life.

20.3₄. In the following sentences it is not so much impossibility as scorn and indignation at something factual that is expressed; while in the former sentences the bare infinitive was found, we have here the *to*-infinitive.

Marlowe E 1287 O treacherous Warwicke, thus to wrong thy friend! | Sh Merch III. 1.37 My owne flesh and blood to rebell | Austen P 19 with *your* good sense, to be so honestly blind to the follies of others | Di Do 257 Paul! You to marry a second time without family! You to marry without beauty! | Thack P 901 You unmanly fellow! to treat a woman so who took you off the street | ib Oh, you coward, to lay your hand upon your wife | Bennett GS 145 Sir Jee was taken aback. He, the chairman of the borough Bench, and the leading philanthropist in the county, to be so spoken to! | Galsw Ca 606 Funny to look back on—deuced funny! A woman's face to have such power | Locke St 229 It was sickening. His fair pure Katherine to have given herself to that little drunken cad, to have wrecked her life for him—it was sickening.

20.3₅. A common form of this is "To think!" with-

out a subject: Di Do 260 to think that she should ever have conceived the base idea! | Thack P 899 But a few months married, and to think he had got to this! | Gissing B 417 To think of that man having the impudence to call! | Agatha Christie in BDS 338 O what a fool I am! *To imagine* myself into a state like this.

This does not seen possible with *To suppose, To say.* Danish without *at:* Og tænke sig at ....

20.36. An isolated infinitive may serve to express a wish or longing:

Browning 1.272 Oh, to be in England Now that April's there! | Stevenson M 79 And O! to see this sunlight once before he died! to move with a golden spirit in a golden land!

This must be explained by aposiopesis: To be in England would be delightful, or something like that. Emotion hinders the speaker from finishing his sentence according to the usual patterns. Note how frequently this omission takes place in expressions of wishes, where emotion leads to elliptical sentences of various types, see the examples in PhilGr 310.

To Separated from Infinitive.

20.41. The term '*split infinitive*' is generally accepted for the insertion of some word or words between *to* and an infinitive—which thus is not really 'split', but only separated from the particle that usually comes immediately before it.

While the phenomenon was formerly blamed by grammarians ("barbarous practice" Skeat in Ch MP 355) and rigorously persecuted in schools, it is now looked upon with more lenient eyes ("We will split infinitives sooner than be ambiguous or artificial" Fowler MEU 560), and even regarded as an improvement (Curme). It is as old as the 14th c. and is found sporadically in many writers of repute, especially after the middle

of the 19th c.; examples abound in modern novels and in serious writings, not perhaps so often in newspapers, as journalists are warned against it by their editors in chief and are often under the influence of what they have learned as 'correct' at school. Curme is right in saying that it has never been characteristic of popular speech.

The fullest treatment of the phenomenon is by Curme, S 458 ff.; other writers which have dealt with it, are Fitzedward Hall in Am. Journal of Phil. June 1882, Storm EPh 762—3, Poutsma 317 ff., Krüger § 550, Sattler, Sachwörterb. 1023, Borst, Split-infinitive, EStn 37.386 ff., Alford Q 133, Trampe Bødtker in MLN 27.229 f., Fijn v. Draat, Rhythm 103 ff., Lounsbury SU 252 ff., Weekley, Saxo Gram. 91 ff., Spies KS 132, Robertson Dev. ModE 504 ff., v. d. Gaaf, Split Inf. in ME, ESts 15 no. 1, Feb. 1933.

20.4₂. Among influences which have undoubtedly contributed to the rise of the 'split inf.' we may mention the occurrence of such word-orders as Goldsm V 2.97 my endeavours to soften or totally suppress Mr. Flamborough's evidence | Bennett HL 362 the power to understand and fully sympathise with him | AHuxley Jesting Pil. 224 all they [amateurs] have to do is to sit down and faithfully copy | Sherriff F 168 something very hard to reflect upon and clearly define—where *to* belongs to two infinitives, the second of which has an adverb placed before it (thus after *to*)—and the parallelism with gerunds, where the adverb comes necessarily after *to:* Di F 79 she fell to laboriously and noiselessly counting them.

Note also such combinations as "she always wants to, and generally does, avoid occasions for quarrels" in which *to* resembles the 'pro-infinitive' mentioned in 20.5₄. Both phenomena show that *to* may be felt to belong to the preceding verb just as much as, or more than, to the infinitive.

The close connexion between *have* and the following *to* is evidenced in

NP 1895 she considered it most unpleasant to have to, as it were, invite criticism.

Cf. Lewinsohn Defeated 294 since one had to and did in the end live Jewishly.

20.43. In ME we sometimes find an object between *to* and the infinitive: Ch MP 6.128 Wel lever is me lyken yow and deye Than for to any thing or thinke or seye That mighten yow offende in any tyme | Nut-Brown Maid in Specimens III. x. 180 Moche more ought they to god obey, and serue but hym alone.

This seems never to be found in ModE, but we sometimes find an apposition to the subject inserted: Aumonier Q 194 Then they seemed to all stop suddenly.

20.44. In a not inconsiderable number of instances the insertion falls under the head of the speaker's 'linguistic self-criticism' (see my paper in S. P. E. Tract 48 (1937), i. e. shows how the speaker (writer) has not been quite sure how to express his thought. More or less undoubted examples are:

Browning T 3.187 To even wish that, would spoil all | Trollope D 2.61 It is a charity to even invite them | Arnold Essays 255 without permitting himself to actually mention the name | Ridge G 74 having to actually go away and hide ourselves | Doyle S 5.191 you do not mean to seriously suggest that | Lewis B 68 I decided to practically cut out smoking | Sherriff F 36 I've got to simply rush away | Ridge G 91 she could get someone else to jolly well take his place || Carlyle F 3.22 beginning to as good as feel that literature has gone mad | Spencer A 2.350 he would be able to finish the work ... He utterly miscalculated, was unable to anything like finish it | Milne Mr. Pim 13 and if Olivia were to—sort of recommend you, well, it wouldn't do you much good.

Here we may place the very frequent occurrence of

really: Walpole OL 130 Some one too old to really care for herself | Campbell Shl 50 [Jane Austen and Peacock] may claim to be the first to really blend in the novel humour and romance.

20.45. The inserted word is often an adverb of degree: *fully* (Wilde I 150 to fully express | Wells A 240 to fully enter), *completely* (Doyle S 4.73 to completely overrate | id R 90 to completely alter | Merriman S 45 to completely frustrate | Carpenter Art of Creation 68 to completely analyse it | Lewis B 29 ought to completely outlaw), *entirely* (Stevenson B 290 to entirely disengage it | Butler Er 118 to entirely reform | Wilde Im 48 to entirely overlook | id L 164 to entirely dispose | ib 189 to entirely mistake | Doyle S 5.162 to entirely avoid), *thoroughly* (Hardy R 130 To thoroughly fill), *totally* (Kidd S 132 to totally misunderstand), *quite* (Brontë V 437 to quite destroy), *half* (Browning 2.153 to half surmise | Stacpoole in BDS 165 to half turn my head | Aumonier Q 74 to half close his eyes | Dreiser F 139 to half assume), *partly* (GE M 7 to partly take away), *slightly* (Pinero B 263 to slightly push aside).

Cf. Galsw FS 546 They were seen to *just* touch each other's hands | Di P 292 to *more than half* suspect | id F 75 it seemed a'most wicked and cruel to *so much as* think such a thing.

20.46. Adverbs of manner: *so* (Shaw C 42 To so mistake | Childers R 298 to so act that ... | Wells A 170 to so set ... | id Blw 236 to so break me in | id U 275 to so frame it | Spencer E 2.11 To so present ideas), *thus* (Ridge S 41 to thus divert).

More descriptive adverbs: Fletcher 2.176 to *gently* heare | ib to *fitly* binde | Moore EW 19 to *better* see | Browning 2.279 to *loathingly* reject | Doyle M 1 to *unreservedly* open | Shaw 1.100 to *first* ask | Huxley PCP 278 to *suddenly* draw herself back | Hardy W 66 to *privately* tell | Wilde SM 182 to *seriously* question | Meredith T 177 to *strongly* emphasize | Shaw M 99 to

deliberately make himself dull | White N 243 to *healthily* reassert itself | Hardy F 189 to *decently* get away | Kipling S 228 to *worthily* add | Parker R 152 to *clearly* understand | Carpenter D 73 to *formally* relinquish | Shaw M 184 to *disastrously* overtax | id C 125 to *silently* warn him | Ellis M 326 to *unduly* minimize it | Doyle R 98 to *simultaneously* set in motion | Trelawny R 56 to *readily* yield | Beresford Pris. Hartl. 222 to *aimlessly* smooth the carpet | Dreiser F 305 to *promptly* haul up | ib 314 to *physically* enforce our commands | Spencer E 2.16 to *rightly* connect them | id A 1.530 to *severally* distinguish | Mannin Conf 106 to *freely* acknowledge | Deeping RR 398 to *tactfully* execute and bury it | Pennell L 111 to *steadily* carry a load | Wells A 237 to *grossly* undervalue | Browning 1.580 to *solely* seek and find and feast.

20.47. Adverbs of time: *now* (Carpenter P 49 to now mulct and burden and impoverish the community), *always* (Hardy W 66 to always keep a mare for her | Aumonier OB 295 to always feel ashamed), *still* (Browning 1.532 to still believe), *at once* (Ridge N 177 to at once bowl and act as wicket-keep | id S 118 to at once keep touch with), *immediately* (Butler ER 33 to immediately kill).

Examples of adverbs outside these classes: *further* (Norris O 286 To further loosen his muscles | Merriman S 75 to further aggravate), *either* (Dreiser F 292 to either confront or escape the horde), *neither* (Oppenheim People's Man 56 to neither know me or [sic!] to know of me).

Examples in which more than one word is inserted after *to:* Browning 2.271 a scheme, To *quietly next day at crow of cock* Cut my own throat too | Carlyle SR 138 to, *if possible*, enlist the remaining Integrity of the world | Shaw Ibsen 137 to *not only* turn Hedda into a Brinvilliers ... | Pennell L 121 I ... have not had time to *more than* glance at them | Norris O 590 his

fists clenching so abruptly as to *all but* split his white gloves | Cambr St 8 it only depends on himself sooner or later to *more or less* be on terms with everybody | Jerome Three Men on the Bummel 59 advice to him ... to *always carefully* count his small change. Some examples have already been given in preceding paragraphs.

20.48. *Not* and *never* are often placed before *to:* Wilde P 38 one of the things I shall have to teach myself is not to be ashamed of it (but *to not be* would have been clearer) | she wished never to see him again (here *never* belongs to the inf., but in *she never wished* ... it would belong to *wished;* the sentences are parallel to *wished not to* ...: *did not wish to* ...) | Maugham MS 140 I trained myself never to show it | Hardy L 77 they thought it best to accept, so as not to needlessly provoke him (note the place of the second adverb) | Macaulay H 1.84 he bound himself never again to raise money without the consent of the Houses | Bromfield ModHero 154 long since she had come never to speak of her at all.

But the opposite word-order is also found: Lewis MS 140 having the sense to not go out | id B 137 I might uv expected you to not stand by me | Browning 1.521 And make him swear to never kiss the girls (rhythm!).

'Splitting' seems never to occur with the composite or expanded tenses of the verbs, because the natural place of the adverb is after *have* and *be*, e. g. in: he seems to have always thought ... | to be silently considering our proposals. Thus also: this has to be definitely stated.

20.49. The split infinitive not infrequently serves to make the meaning clear. In Sh Hml III. 1.57 Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer ...—commentators are obliged to say '*in the mind* to be connected with *suffer*, not with *nobler*.'

The following passages would have been clearer by 'splitting': Brontë J 355 I was now too fond of you often to simulate the first whim | Thack N 55 it was said she only wanted a pipe in her mouth considerably to resemble the late Field Marshall Prince Blucher | Seeley E 131 the poverty of the nation did not allow them successfully to compete with the other nations | Caine S 2.177 he was scarcely the man tamely to endure a horrible den like this | Beswick OD 20 he was too cold at heart ever completely to befool himself over a woman | Stephen L 137 his thorough honesty afterwards led him openly to adopt that position | Meredith H 85 it did not appear favourably to impress Tom | Phillpotts K 119 he renewed his search if possible to find any further sign of Annabel Grey.

Compare also two such expressions as these: he prepared silently to accompany them: he prepared to silently accompany them | he made up his mind once more to become a suitor to her hand: he made up his mind to once more become a suitor to her hand.

The 'splitting' has evidently contributed to the clearness of Ruskin U 82 I wish the reader to clearly understand the central principle | Hardy F 135 a man she respected too highly to deliberately tease | Spencer A 2.278 Several sittings were usually required to thus sort the entire heap | Doyle Sh 6.80 any details which would help the reader to exactly identify the college | Mason R 165 I propose to still come to this house | Campbell Shl 218 no one claims to completely understand it | NP 1925 he was palpably too ill to really carry out his duty.

Split infinitive is frequent in Swedish and is found sporadically in Danish.

Latent Infinitive.

20.51. The leaving out of an infinitive when it is easily understood from the context is natural in cases like:

Can you swim? Yes, I can. No, I cannot.

I won't go to that party. I should if I were you.

He doesn't generally cut lectures, but he did yesterday.

I should like to answer back, but I dare not. This has probably been usual in the language from the oldest times.

Examples of objects after such latent infinitives were given in vol. III 12.7₅ ff.: forgives my birth, he will not my religion | fingering as a child might its toys, etc.

20.5₂. In the same way an infinitive is naturally latent after those constructions of O(SI) in which no *to* is required, thus O(SI°), e. g.:

Fielding T 1.224 I shall never mention a word that your Lordship will not have me | Goldsm V 1.198 when he does what we would have him | Di N 752 I have acted as you would have had me | id Do 536 I will bring it you, if you will let me | Caine E 397 I tried to take back my denunciation, and they wouldn't let me | Galsw EC 70 I really don't know anything about those girls. They simply don't let one | Shaw P 74 dont let me see you as much as move from the spot until youre let | Sh As II. 4.40 if thou hast not broke from companie, Abruptly as my passion now makes me, Thou hast not loued | Swift 3 (p. ?) I screamed as loud as fear could make me | Di P 279 Here Mary laughed, and said the cook had made her | ib 423 And s'pose he won't come back, sir? said Sam. He must be made, said Mr. Pickwick | Shaw P 8 Have you told her?—She made me.

20.5₃. The same omission of the infinitive is, or was formerly, frequent in such cases as have *to* before the expressed infinitive.

Swift 3.165 giving him what satisfaction I was able | Austen M 146 nobody would attend as they ought | ib 176 I do talk to him more than I used | Di P 140

Fizkin expressed his readiness to do anything he was wanted | Ruskin T 196 I was doubting whether I would or would not tell you ... I had half determined not, but now I shall | James (TM?) 55 She talks now much less than she used | Beswick OD 139 There's no need to come to the Works again, in fact I think it would be just as well not | Galsw F 331 I can't; I'm pledged not.

Thus the construction O(SI) became O(SI°) without *to:*

Bacon A 24.19 wee presented our selves to kisse the skirt of his tippet, but he would not suffer us | Thack N 186 I could not see them. My feelings would not allow me | Sh Alls III. 7.7 I would not put my reputation now In any staining act. Nor would I wish you | Austen M 52 If I write, I will say whatever you wish me | Di N 26 I am ready to do anything you wish me | Swift J 49 I wish you were whipped, for forgetting to send him that answer I desired you in one of my former | Hewlett Q 156 he would lavish all his counsel at her feet if she desired him | Di F 660 if you cut in when requested not, I'll ... | id D 63 he ordered a glass of his ale—would order it—I told him not—drank it, and fell dead | Shaw Ms 4 If you go on doing it after Ive asked you not, youll feel an awful swine | Galsw P 9.9 Are you really going to speak? I ask you not | Ward M 414 you did leave me, though I implored you not.

20.5₄. But in all such cases it is nowadays more usual to have *to* without an infinitive; *to* here as it were represents the whole infinitive as what I have elsewhere (GS) termed a *pro-infinitive;* it is naturally explained as a kind of prosiopesis.

Further literature on the phenomenon: Jespersen EK 24 (partially reprinted in Progr § 40), Fitzedward Hall in the (Am.) Nation 24.4.1890, Storm EPh 877, Borst EStn 39.413, Curme S 458.

Examples of *to* in the construction O(SI), which thus becomes O(SpI°):

Herrick M 331 he warmed up more than I had ever known him to | Dane FB 207 I shall speak to Justin. —Oh no, Mrs. Cloud. Please! I should hate you to. I should simply hate it | Hope Ch 70 Do you want to keep them? "I thought he meant me to" | Shaw P 139 Theodotus has brought them.—I meant him to | Barrie T 160 how could she love him? "Because you wanted me to" | Hope F 84 "I take no responsibility for what you do." "Nobody wants you to." | Wilde D 106 you must not look at it. I don't wish you to | Benson J 192 She had meant to sit with him, as he had asked her to that morning | Ridge L 144 supposing nobody ever asks you." "They must be made to" | Pinero S 167 he didn't want me to do that ... he dared me to | Benson D 15 you do not believe in me a bit. Never mind, I will force you to.

Also after *for:*

Oppenheim Prod. Monte C 190 You must never lose your courage. Indeed, remember that there is no need for you to | Meredith H 188 he didn't answer, so I thought it polite for somebody to.

The two constructions found together:

Di P 370 I should advise him not to, sir; I should advise him not | Doyle M 19 Can't I hear your grave voice saying "Have faith!" Your conscience allowed you to. Well, mine won't allow me.

20.5ε. The same *to* is found in other constructions too, I print only comparatively few of the many quotations I have collected:

Swift 3.324 he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to | Defoe R 32 going no oftner into the shoar than we were oblig'd to for fresh water | Keats 5.165 I shall not suffer my little girl ever to be obscured like glass breath'd upon, but always bright as it is her nature to | Brontë W 31 You'd better do it at once;

you will have to | Di T 1.36 I entreat you to tell me more, sir. I will. I am going to | id Do 527 If you can't, it's of no consequence—but do endeavour to! | id D 29 she would not let me kiss her when I offered to | ib 126 Mr. Murdstone liked me less than he used to | Ruskin P 3.86 would I come and see her? I thought I should rather like to | Meredith EH 284 Let us go. I shall be glad to | Wilde S 122 We can conceal our vices if we care to | Kipling J2 96 they never hurry till they have to | ib 185 he does not think of these chances till he is forced to | Shaw C 119 I'll apologize: a man like me can afford to | Galsw Sw 218 they thought too much about how to (also Maugham P 177).

Thus also *if I was to* (Di D 106), *if I were to* (Hardy F 211). *Ought to, used to* must now be considered the standard form instead of the earlier *ought, used*, without *to*.

Note the following quotation, which is a transition from the construction dealt with in 20.4:

Lewis MS 193 She tried to, and did not, feel brave.

20.5₆. This use of *to* is seen to be particularly useful in instances like these, in which the meaning would be different if *to* were omitted:

I heard everything he told me to | the book will sell well; it is bound to | Meredith RF 335 "Congratulate me." "I should be happy to, if I could" | Barrie T 416 I meant to destroy it from the first, but I was afraid to | Maugham Alt 225 he smoked only to persuade himself that he was not too ill to.

20.5₇. Instead of a negative infinitive it is usual to say *not to*, which would not easily be understood without *to* (see, however, instances in 20.5_3): Ward M 325 He'll never ask me to help him—he'll find ways not to | Zangwill G 301 I mustn't seize the chance—it would be mean.—It would be meaner not to | Shaw 1.234 right to get rid of you? I should be a fool not to | ib 184 why should they take any grind when they can

afford not to? | Kennedy Fool of Fam. 298 She probably didn't know the truth about it herself. She's been brought up not to.

20.58. How old is this use of *to* as pro-infinitive? NED *to* 21 has some isolated examples from 13.., 1450 and 1621, but some of them may be doubtful. The following quotations look suspiciously like early examples, but may be interpreted as the ordinary preposition *to* (not the infinitival one): Straw IV. 1.8 Hauing, as law and dutie binds vs too, Giuen both dew praise | Sh H4A V. 5.11 What I haue done, my safety vrg'd me to | Oth III. 3.135 I am not bound to that all slaves are free to | Defoe M 20 I did the business he publicly directed me to | id R 39 I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before | Fielding 1.201 What would you advise me to?

It is not till the middle of the 19th c. that usage becomes really settled.

20.59. It is curious that in some instances we have *to it* (*to't*) where now we should have simply *to:* Sh LL V. 2.145 But shall we dance, if they desire vs too't? | Lr II. 2.118 though I should win your displeasure to entreat me too't | Di F 24 I can't read, nor I don't want to it | ib 613 I never asked 'em to bring me round, nor yet the steamer never asked 'em to it | ib 785 you meant to it and forgot to it. In the Dickens quotations decidedly meant as a vulgarism.

Chapter XXI.

Clauses as Tertiaries.

21.11. By *clause* I understand the linguistic expression of a dependent nexus in so far as it is framed on the model of a sentence (an independent nexus), thus

as a rule containing a finite verb besides its subject. Here we are only concerned with such clauses as in the sentence play the part of a tertiary (subjunct), for those clauses that are primary or secondary have been dealt with in vol. III. *Tertiary* is here taken in a wide sense, including everything that is inferior in rank to secondaries; the clause with *as* in Di D 675 quoted below in 21.2_2 is thus a quaternary. But it should be noticed that *clause* is taken in a narrower sense than in some grammars, where mention is made of 'infinitive-clauses', 'gerund-clauses' or 'undeveloped clauses'. Some grammars also extend the term so as to include main clauses (principal clauses or head clauses), by which is often meant that part of a sentence which is left after removal of the subordinate clause (or clauses).

21.1₂. The question naturally arises: are there any linguistic criteria characteristic of clauses in contra-distinction to independent sentences? In other cognate languages such are to be found in word-order, cp. thus to some extent in Danish: "han ser hende ikke" (independent sentence): "da han ikke ser hende" (clause), "da kom han": "da han kom",—and even more definitely in German: "er sieht sie nicht": "da er sie nicht sieht", "dann kam er": "da er kam". In English there were tendencies in the same direction. Cp. thus Beow 2076 þær wæs Hondscio hild onsægе (þær = 'there'): 2075 þær we gesunde sæl weardodon (þær = 'where') | Oros. 126 þa hwile þe ('while') Darius fird gegaderode, þa hwile ('then') sende Alexander Parmionem ... But from the ME period the tendency has been to carry through the same rules for word-order in clauses and in independent sentences. Thus the object and most adverbs are placed after the verb: he examined the paper carefully: as he examined the paper carefully. Other adverbs are placed before the verb: he never knew her: as he never knew her, etc. In Ch the object is sometimes placed before the verb in a clause, see

Wilson, Chaucer's Rel. Constructions § 45. In Caxton such a word-order as R 95 that she nether way ne path helde—is quite exceptional. But even later we find here and there traces of word-orders analogous to those found in German, e. g. Sh Lucr 1255 rough winter that the flowre hath kild | H4A I. 3.146 Was he not proclaim'd By Richard, that dead is, the next of blood? | Tp I. 2.294 If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oake.

In the marriage service the old "till death us depart" was changed into "till death us do part" when *depart* was no longer understood; cf. Williamson S 286 I longed to be his wife—his, till death us should part. In the proverb we still say: "Handsome is that handsome does"; cp. Dekker Sh II. 1.51 he is proper that proper doth. In the AV we find, e. g., John 11.28 when shee had so said | 33 when Iesus therefore sawe her weeping | 43 when he thus had spoken.

Cf. in questions: What is that?: I don't know what that is. Cf. vol. III 18.5_3.

21.13. Tone often serves to distinguish clauses from main sentences, or rather serves to show whether we have coordination or subordination; cf. the remark below on *for*. Two coordinated sentences tend to have the same intonation, in most cases dropping down towards the end, while when one statement is subordinated to another the first generally has a higher (rising) and the second a lower (falling) intonation, no matter which of them is the superior one: if he is ˈill he won't ˌcome: he won't ˈcome if he is ˌill.

21.14. Most clause tertiaries are introduced by a conjunction or some word or words doing the same service as conjunctions. Chief among conjunctions is the 'maid of all work' *that*, a weak form [ðət] of the demonstrative pronoun *that* [ðæt]: the late poet laureate Robert Bridges distinguished the two forms as *that* and *thatt*, but found no followers. The conjunction must really be considered rather a continuation of the com-

bination OE *þæt ðe:* the pronoun followed by *þe* (*ðe*), which in OE fulfilled the same function as ModE *that*, i. e. served to make an adverbial word into a conjunction or connective introducing a clause. *That* is used for that purpose (1) in itself, (2) added to some other word (tertiary), and (3) instead of repeating a conjunction or conjunctional combination. Its use to introduce a content-clause (see vol. III) falls outside the scope of this volume; I shall mention only the fact that it is very often superfluous: I hope he'll come = I hope that he will come, but is generally found in a following parallel clause: I hope he'll come and that we shall hear some of his fine singing (quotations in vol. III 2.3_8). We shall find something analogous in some clause-tertiaries.

That really in itself has no meaning, but serves to indicate that what follows is subordinate to and connected with the main statement.

Another much used conjunction is *as*, OE *eall swā*, which from its original use in comparisons has been extended to several other functions and in vg speech even tends to supplant *that*.

In each class of clauses as given below we find the following sub-classes according to the introductory word or words:

(a) conjunction proper: *that*, *if*, *as*, *than*.
(b) relative word: *when*, *where*, *how*, *whether*.
(c) adverb: *now*, *once*.
(d) preposition: *before*, *after*, *for*.

A clause governed by a preposition (as its 'object' or 'regimen') is in vol. III 2.2 treated as a primary, like other regimens of prepositions; here the whole (prep. + regimen) is treated as a tertiary.

(e) preposition + regimen: *because*, *in case*.
(f) substantive as tertiary: *the moment*, (*while*).
(g) verbal form: *suppose*.

In each of these we denote with one star combina-

tions with *that* or *as*, e. g. b* *when that*, and with two stars the use of *that* to repeat the conjunction, e. g. b** (*when* ...) *and that*.

With this use of *that* should be compared what was said in vol. III 8.6 ff.

Finally we have in some cases clauses without any introductory word, e. g. *I'm glad you've come*.

But these sub-classes cannot always be strictly separated; *while* should according to its origin be reckoned as a substantive (f), but is generally termed a conjunction, and this is still more true of *whilst*; some dictionaries also call *now* a conjunction.

21.15. Most grammars have a list of 6, 8, or even more classes of the clauses with which we are here concerned (adverbial or better tertiary clauses), e. g. temporal, causal, concessive, final clauses, etc., without attempting to bring about a real system, the consequence being that the order is different from grammar to grammar. In the following pages, as also in the SPE Tract Nr. 54 (1940), I have tried to establish a logical system instead of this chaos.

What we have to do with in all these combinations is the relation of two statements as expressions of happenings, actions, or states. But we must never forget that the same thing can in many cases be expressed in more than one way. The two statements are sometimes coordinated, sometimes one is subordinated to the other, but it is not always the same thought that is subordinate, we even see some curious shiftings in that respect. But it is very important always to remember that coordination and subordination is here exclusively regarded from the grammatical point of view: what is logically the most important idea is often placed in what grammatically is subordinate.

Coordination in itself says nothing about the relation between two ideas, and leaves everything to the situation or context, i. e. to the hearer's own reflexion. The reader will

find abundant material in Urban Ohlander's Studies on Coordinate Expressions in ME (Lund, London & Copenhagen 1936) in which the latent meaning of numerous ME examples is carefully analyzed as corresponding to adversative, concessive, consecutive, final, and other clauses.

21.16. The principle on which my system is based is this. In passing from one class to the next we always move from a looser, more external, to a closer, more intimate relation between the two statements. To begin with the two are totally independent of one another, and finally one is absolutely dependent on the other. We have four such classes, but within classes 3 and 4 we have two subclasses A and B on the same principle, A denoting a looser, B a closer connexion. Everywhere we give examples first of coordination, and then of subordination.

In the four main classes the two statements are

1. mutually independent,
2. compared with one another,
3. contrasted, and finally
4. dependent on one another.

We shall now go through these classes.

1. Independence.

21.21. The two statements are mutually independent. The relation may be purely accidental or matter of fact. Here we place local and temporal clauses (place and time).

Place.

Coordination:

He went to London; there he stayed for a month.
He went to London; from there he went to Paris.

Subordination:

(b) Dick lay where the grass was thickest | I shall go to Stratford, where Shakespeare was born and died

| Sh R3 I. 2.106 He is in heauen, where thou shalt neuer come | AV Ruth 1.16 whither thou goest, I will goe; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge | Di (q NED) a garden, whence a wicket-gate opened into a small paddock.

In most of these quotations the clause is really secondary (an adjunct).

Where is often continuative = 'and there': I am going to London, where I shall stay for a month.

Whither and *whence* are obsolescent; Sh often writes *from whence;* PE *from where. Where* now corresponds to *at a place* and *to a place.* Combinations like *wherein, whereat, wherefrom,* are frequent in earlier E rather than in PE; they are chiefly continuative.

Wherever: Sh R2 V. 3.141 To Oxford, or where ere these traitors are | wherever he goes, he is sure to find friends.

(b*). Sh LL IV. 3.296 And *where that* you haue vow'd to studie, Lords, ... Can you still dreame | Marlowe T 4523 not far from Alexandria, *Whereas* the Terren and the red sea meet (also ib 3248). In Sh only in suspect works. After that time *whereas* has been generally used in the meaning 'while, on the contrary' (NED from 1535), beside its legal use = 'in consideration of the fact that, inasmuch as'.

Nowhere that, everywhere that, see vol. III 8.6_5.

Whereon, whereupon, like *whereafter,* used chiefly of time.

Time.

21.2₂. Both simultaneity and sequence.

Coordination:

I came, saw, and conquered.

Then I was young and vigorous; now I am old and weak.

I walked home, then I slept for an hour, and afterwards worked till midnight.

I received a wire from Smith, and immediately I replied that I agreed.

Note that *then* means both 'at that time' and '(just) after that time'. Note also the originally spatial adverbs *thereon* and *thereupon*, and the combination *thereafter*.

Subordination:

(a). Sh Merch II. 4.39 peruse this as thou goest | Di D 132 When, as we sat round the fire after tea, an allusion was made ... the tears stood in her eyes | ib 675 it was yet early in the morning ..., when, as I was walking in my garden with my aunt, I was told ... (*as* used to avoid two *when*'s).

While (on the origin see below, e, 21.2$_7$) as well as *whiles* and *whilst* must now be regarded as conjunctions. *Whilst* is *whiles* + *t* added when *s* was voiceless, cf. *against*, etc. vol. I 7.64. Examples: Sh Ven 785 my heart ... But soundly sleeps, while now it sleeps alone | Tp II. 1.300 Whiles we stood here ... we heard a hollow burst | John IV. 2.191 And he that speakes, doth gripe the hearers wrist, Whilst he that heares, makes feareful action.

Many examples in vol. IV 12.9.

These conjunctions often imply nothing but contrast without any real temporal import, cf. below 21.4$_1$.

21.2₃. (b). *When* I was 17, my father died.

When (= *whenever*): Sh R3 II. 3.33 When clouds are seen, wisemen put on their clokes | you may come *whenever* you like.

Formerly frequently *whensoever*.

Sc. *whenever* = 'as soon as', Cronin H 83 We'll be married whenever you come back.

(b*). *When that* was formerly frequent: Caxton R 58 whan that ye wylle, we shal alle goo | Sh John I. 1.95 when that my father liu'd, Your brother did imploy my father much.

When as was not quite so frequent as *when that:*

Marlowe E 850 What will he do when as he shall be present? | Sh Ven 999 I felt a kind of feare, When as I met the boare | AV Mat 1.18 | Mi PL 9.192 whenas sacred light began to dawn | id A 31,34,37.

(b**). North 243 When the day of election was come, and that Martius came to the market place | Sh Hml IV. 7.155 when in your motion you are hot and dry ... And that he cals for drinke, Ile haue prepar'd ....

21.24. (c). He made his will *before* he died | *After* he had gone, we played bridge | It is hours *since* I had anything to eat | Austen P 379 it was a fortnight since Mrs. Bennet had been downstairs | We must wait *till* John comes back | AV Mat 1.25 [he] knew her not, till she had brought her firstborn son.

Note especially *since* after *ago:* [Sh Cor I. 2.6 'tis not foure dayes gone Since I heard thence] | Carlyle R 1.11 it is some years ago (in summer) since I entertained him | Di P 143 It's eighty years ago, since the circumstance happened | Wells V 341 it's not a full year ago since I was a schoolgirl || cf. also Stevenson JHF 43 it was nearly two months since she had seen him till yesterday.

On *since* and its various meanings see Fijn van Draat EStn 32.371, Anglia 33.145, 155.

On causal *since* see below 21.8_8.

Ere is another preposition used to introduce a clause. OE *ær*, e. g. Oros. 198.25 and þær hæfdon longsum gefeoht, ær þara folca aþer fluge. Further Sh Wiv II. 1.127 Take heed, ere sommer comes | Peacock 1870 (NED) It was very late ere the party broke up.

A northern form of *ere* is *or* (frequent in Malory). But as *ere* was homonymous with *e'er*, the shortened form of *ever*, we have frequent combinations like these = 'before': Fulg 14 or euer | Tennyson Foresters 1 Or ever the day began, the lady gave a rose to the earl | Morris E 108 Or ever we began | ib 121 Or e'er his tale was done | St. Phillips XIX. Cent. Jan. 1901.6

And or ever those days be ended, the veil shall be rent | Hewlett F (p. ?) or ever the sun kissed the tree-tops he was hungry [on one particular morning] | Kipling B 153 or ever | Garnett T 63 or ever this world was || Sterne M 1.8 Tristram's misfortunes began nine months before ever he came into the world | London W 70 before ever his eyes opened.

Alongside of *till* we have *until*, which some writers (Di, Hall Caine, Doyle) use preferably or even exclusively, while Hardy seems to use *till* only.

In the North *to* or *unto* was (is?) used in the same sense (frequent in Townley M), *unto* in Ch Parl 647 unto this yeer be doon. Correspondingly Northern dialects used *fro* or *from* as conjunctions, also Ch R 850 from she was twelve yeer of age, She of hir love graunt him made.

The preposition *against* is finally used as a clause-introducer, generally in the sense 'in preparation of': Dekker Sh II. 1.18 I am sure you make that garland for me, against I shall be Lady of the Haruest | Marlowe E 672 Against our friend the earle of Cornewall comes, Weele haue a generall tilt and turnament | Sh Mids III. 2.99 Ile charme his eyes against she doth appeare | Hml I. 1.158 euer 'gainst that season comes | BJo A 2.269 Nab shall doo't against he ha' the widdow | AV Gen 43.25 they made ready the present against Ioseph came at noone | Osborne 59 I have a third tome heer against you have don with the second | Defoe R 144 this I laid by against I had my next crop of corn | Swift J 36 be rich against Presto comes (also ib 136, 200, 260) | Cowper L 2.33 everything is preparing to be beautiful against you come | Di Do 271 she'll soap-and-water that 'ere tablet, against the company arrive | Rose Macaulay P 120 [servant:] to keep it [tea] hot against they were ready for it.

(c*). More U 248 immediately *after that* warre is ones denounced | Sh H4B IV. 4.128 a little time *before That*

our great grand-sire Edward sick'd and dy'de | AV Job 21.3 and after that I haue spoken, mocke on | Osborne 98 tis long *since that* I knew how well he writ's | By DJ 4.75 Some days and nights elapsed before that he Could altogether call the past to mind | Shelley 72 *ere that* I could rise | Kinglake E 45 *since that* I am away || Cf. also Bunyan P 18 *by that* he was gone some distance from the gate, he would come at the House.

21.25. (d). *Now* was used as a conjunction in OE (Oros. 94 Ne wene ic nu ic longe spell hæbbe to secgenne þæt ic . . .) and is frequent in ModE, e. g. Sh Mids IV. 1.66 And now I haue the boy, I will vndoe This hatefull imperfection | Defoe R 2.82 how quietly they liv'd now those three turbulent fellows were gone | Thack N 751 a dinner at the Colonel's, now he appeared in all his magnificence, was awfully slow | GE A 426 now she had made up her mind, etc., etc.

The oldest quotation of *once* in this function in NED is 1761; there is an older one in (Sh ?) E3 IV. 3.84 Once we are sure we haue insnard the sonne, Catch we the father after how we can.

From the 19th c. examples abound, e. g. Stevenson V 34 once you are married, there is nothing left for you, not even suicide, but to be good | Wells U 147 Why, once you are rid of them, should you pester criminals? | Shaw 1.vii The matter, once I gave up writing novels, was not so very difficult | Wilde S 176 The public like to insult poets, but once they have insulted them they leave them alone | Doyle S 6.228 once that warrant was made out nothing on earth would save him | Barrie MO 38 Once the lights of the little town are lit, who could ever hope to tell all its story.

(Cf. the frequent use before a participle, etc., as in Ruskin C 45 but, once having got it, the fortified millionaire can make everybody who passes below pay toll | Austen P 74 My good opinion once lost is lost for ever | Brontë P 42 once off your premises, what temptation can I have to return to them? |

Swinburne L 36 Once out in the garden, Reginald became more wonderful than ever. Cf. also nexus-tertiary 6.8_3).

Some careful writers prefer *when once:* Macaulay E 4.127 When once he knows his master, he is valuable | Lamb R 16 when once Margaret was set a fretting the fit held her pretty long.

Now and *once* often approach the meaning of 'if'.

Directly and *immediately* as conjunctions date from the end of the 18th c. (Fitzedward Hall M 275): Di N 613 "Oh! yes, yes," said Kate, directly the whole figure of the singular visitor appeared | Thack P 251 directly the Doctor was gone, Laura ordered fires to be lighted in Mr. Arthur's rooms | Hardy F 322 Directly he had gone, Bathsheba burst into great sobs | Huxley LS 65 those [things] you will most want to know directly you leave school | Gosse P 15 Directly dinner was over he insisted on seeing the baby | Poe 614 [Dickens's] most remarkable error is that of employing the adverb "directly" in the sense of "as soon as". Bulwer is uniformly guilty of the same blunder || Bennett HL 356 Immediately Janet was gone, Hilda had run up to the bedroom | id ECh 222 and immediately a play resembled life he called it unhealthy | Harraden D 43 you must show that gentleman in immediately he comes.

Instantly and *right away* (U. S.) are rarer: Thack E 1.10 he ran across the grass instantly he perceived his mother | Hergesheimer Pennys 24 His father brought him out here right away he returned.

(d*). The same words connected with *that* see vol. III 8.6_3 and $_4$ (*now that* only twice in Sh, while *now* alone is frequent).

That is necessary when *however* is inserted: Wilde In 196 Once, however, that the date has been fixed, then the archæologist is to supply us with facts.—Thus also: Now, however, that he had ....

(d**). Sh Ado I. 1.303 But now I am return'd, and that warre-thoughts Haue left their places vacant.

21.2₆. Here we may place two often used combinations, which really imply comparison:

As (or *so*) *long as:* Hope M 65 I shall never forget that supper as long as I live | Carpenter C 53 as long as I knew a few of the facts I could talk very wise about them | Lecky D 1.115 As long as such a spirit prevails in Parliament and governs the constituencies, so long the British Constitution will prove a success (used to indicate a condition, see 21.5₉), and *as* (*so*) *soon as:* Sh Wiv IV. 5.68 so soone as I came beyond Eaton, they threw me off | Bunyan P 92 so soon as the man overtook me, he was but a word and a blow | ib 100 I had ... as soon almost as I entred into that valley, a dreadful combat | Scott A 2.34 so soon as he got into the grave he struck | Di D 743 so soon as I could at all collect my thoughts, I sent for J. | Wells U 259 so soon as I come to talk to him I find ... | Norris P 159 we'll talk it over just as soon as I know || sometimes only *soon as:* Bridges E 82 the which she knew soon as she heard the name | Ridge G 38 get out of my kitchen soon as you can | Priestley AP 91 We want another man for London and district, soon as we can get one.

21.2₇. (e). Among the substantives used to introduce clauses the first to be mentioned is *while* (OE *hwīl* 'time'). OE had *þā hwīle þe* with the article (acc.) and the connective *þe*. Later we have (*all*) *the while*, e. g. Defoe R 140 all the while I was at work I diverted my self (also ib 146) | ib 2.40 all the while he did this, he would be talking to him | Collins W 196 Laura has been present to my thoughts all the while I have been writing these lines | Bridges E 34 as they served, the while a choral sound ... the burden bare. — Thus in U. S., often in Dreiser and Jack London.

More often, however, without *the*, and *while* as well

as the obsolete *whiles* and the expanded form *whilst* must now, as already remarked, be considered regular conjunctions.

The whilst was also sometimes used, e. g. Sh John IV. 2.194 I saw a smith stand with his hammer thus The whilst his iron did on his anvile coole.

21.2₈. Similarly *the minute* and *the moment* introduce a clause, the latter often with *that moment* to correspond: Di D 213 I hurried off, the minute school was over || Cowper L 1.31 if they had been burned the moment they were written | Byron DJ 1.169 Alfonso will be back The moment he has sent his fools away | McCarthy 2.473 the moment his holding began to show a better appearance, that moment he might look to having his rent raised | London W 161 The moment Mitsah gave his order for the start, that moment the whole team sprang forward | Ridge S 20 moment [without *the*] the money was spent you were going to turn the boy out || Brontë W 92 The next time H. came, my young lady chanced to be feeding some pigeons.

Not quite parallel to this is *what time* = 'when', as e. g. twice in Gammer 148; frequent in Tennyson, but in modern writers chiefly in mock-archaic style: Sh Tit IV. 3.19 I made thee miserable, what time I threw the peoples suffrages . . . | Mi PL I. 36 he deceiv'd The Mother of Mankinde, what time his pride Had cast him out from Heav'n | Di D 452 What time Miss Mills sat looking at the moon | Kipling L 18 the cavalry occupied Cairo in '82, what time Arabi Pasha called himself King.

(e*). With *that:* Sh Cymb IV. 3.17 The day that she was missing, he was here.

21.2₉. (f). A preposition + substantive to introduce a clause is found, e. g. in Gammer 131 tyl time he come, Let vs go in | ib 139 [I] said no worde till time I was within | Dinner will be ready by the time you come back.

Note that *during the time Walpole held power* is a clause, but *during this* (or *that*) *time Walpole held power* is a (main) sentence.

(f*). Ch A 43 A knyght ... That fro the tyme that he first began To ryden out, he loved chivalrye; vol. III 8.6$_1$.

21.2$_{10}$. It is sometimes immaterial whether the time-relation is given in the main statement or in a clause, thus with the expanded form of the verb: He was breakfasting when I entered: I entered while he was breakfasting.

Two successive numbers of Addison's Spectator, 108 and 109, open differently, but without any appreciable difference of sense: As I was yesterday morning walking with Sir Roger before his house, a country fellow brought him a huge fish | I was this morning walking in the gallery, when Sir Roger entered at the end opposite me and ... said.

Cp. the two sentences: When I was 10 years old, my father died (or My father died when I was 10 years old) and I was 10 years old when my father died. In the former the death is told as a new fact, supposed to be unknown to the hearer; it is natural in a connected story of one's life and answers the question: What happened next?, or What happened when you were 10 years old? In the second expression the hearer is supposed to know that the speaker had lost his father, and the sentence is an answer to the question: When did your father die?, or How old were you when your father died?

The latter construction naturally leads to others in which the clause serves less to indicate when the main incident happened than to introduce something new which happened subsequent to it: 'continuative *when*', often practically = 'and then': Austen M 324 another fit of abstraction followed, when, shaking it off, she thus attacked her companion | Keats 5.134 I shall

call upon you ... early enough to catch you before you can get out — when we will proceed to the Academy | Thack N 216 they waited until the carriage had arrived, when they quitted Fitzroy Square | Di N 508 he looked at a sparrow, till the bird flew away, when he then [N.B.] put his cap in his pocket | Stevenson JHF 15 It was his custom to sit close by the fire until twelve, when he would go soberly to bed | Hardy R 445 their exertions did not relax till the doctor arrived, when the three were taken upstairs and put into warm beds. — Note two *whens* Thack P 146 He was received with great friendliness when he called the next day, when many civilities passed between the gentlemen.

In sentences with *no sooner* the same time-relation is indicated as with *as soon as* above (21.2$_6$), but with clause-inversion; the clause was formerly introduced with *but* (thus regularly in Sh), in later usage with *than:* Sh Hml IV. 1.29 The sun no sooner shall the mountaines touch, But we will ship him hence. See Negation, p. 134 || Goldsm V 2.172 The clanking of my son's irons was no sooner heard ... than his sister ran impatiently to meet him | Fielding T (frequently) no sooner ... than | Macaulay H 1.66 [he] had no sooner mounted the English throne than he began to show an intolerant zeal for ... the English Church || Sackville-West E 228 she knew that Maud would be off again, no sooner than she had taken her nose out of the cup.

No sooner had he left us than we burst out laughing = As soon as he had left us we burst out laughing.

A similar inverse subordination is frequently found with *scarcely, scarce, hardly:* Di N 30 The schoolmaster had scarcely uttered these words in a fierce temper, when the stranger entered. The clause was formerly often introduced with *but:* Wycherley (q Franz) I scarce had paid the chairmen, and was coming up after her, but I met her on the stairs—and in late use with *than,*

probably by a contamination with the construction of *no sooner:* Kipling P 229 He had scarce time to lay out for the nearest than they ran | Gosse F 168 I had hardly laid my head down on the pillow, than, as it seemed to me, I was taking part in a mad gallop | NP 1913 Hardly had it appeared than the author's untimely end added a sense of catastrophe | RBennett P 32 Scarcely had the reverberations died away, than there came the sound of footsteps. (Cf. EStn 31.116).

21.2$_{11}$. Temporal conjunctions sometimes tend to lose their strictly temporal meaning. *When* often indicates condition rather than time:

When it rains he doesn't go out.

While is used of a contrast, see below. Logicians warn us not to confound post hoc and propter hoc: in language as actually used this confusion has become habitual with *since:*

Since you are here, we may as well settle matters.

2. Comparison.

21.3$_{1}$. Clause tertiaries beginning with *as* cannot be rigidly kept distinct from relative clauses, and as such many of them have already been treated in vol. III ch. 9, to which the reader is referred.

Examples of real clause tertiaries of comparison with *as:* AV Mat 1.24 Ioseph ... did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him | do as you are told | everything happened exactly as we had expected | Sheridan 363 Perhaps she is not so culpable as I thought her | Maugham TL 100 she's as good as she's beautiful.

On *as if* see 21.7$_{9}$.

21.3$_{2}$. But many *as*-clauses given in other grammars are not really clauses of comparison: As is well-known | as it turned out he had never been there | as we gather from the report | as was to be expected | Kingsley H

45 If he does not—as he does not—let him give up living in a lie | Christie LE 28 And if he turns you down —as he will—you'll think of a clever plan.

This is really nothing but a trick to shift the notionally less important idea into a subordinate clause: As is well-known, he is now dead = It is well-known that he is dead (clause-inversion).

21.3₃. On account of the similarity in meaning between *like* and *as* the former tends to be constructed in the same way as the latter; thus we find on the one hand *like* with the nominative *I* (Sh Ro III. 5.83, Progr § 160): Wells Autobiogr. 692 if people like I were not to chide the military authorities, who would? | Masefield C 180 Old friends like you and I don't get angry with one another,—and on the other hand, which concerns us here, *like* used with a whole clause. This, of course, has been objected to by strict grammarians, see Furnivall Mem. Vol. p. lxv note: The use of *like* as a conjunction ... is a favourite one of Furnivall's. It led to an argument with Tennyson, who declared that the use was incorrect, and of recent origin, and that he had once corrected the Prince Consort in the Queen's drawing-room on the point. Furnivall declared the use was to be found in Shakspere, &c., and cited William Morris's emphatic utterances on the subject.

There is one example in Sh, Per I. 1.163 like an arrow shot from a well experienct archer hits the marke his eye doth levell at (Q as). Another old example is North 235 witte ... doth bring forth many good and euill thinges together: like a fat soile bringeth forth herbes & weedes. Fitzedward Hall (Nation 4.8.1892) has other 16th c. quotations, as well as some from Dryden, Southey, etc.

In the 19th and 20th c. examples abound: Keats 5.75 It is astonishing how they raven down scenery like children do sweetmeats | Brontë W 123 she'll never be

like she was | Thack P 2.317 [vg] I was like I was last night | GE A 26 to work seven year for her, like Jacob did for Rachel | Di Letter 7.1.1841 [in Forster Life 58] Nobody will miss her like I shall | id F 259 He couldn't brush my hair like you do | Kipling P 94 they always drummed on their chests, like Sir Richard's did | Oppenheim Laxw 298 They treated him like terriers would have done a rat | Bennett LM 249 Hugh will never understand me ... At least, not completely,—like I understand you both | Gissing G 217 He can't write like he used to | Shaw StJ 6 I do not need beautiful armor made to my measure like you wear | Wells Ma 2.164 I feel like a woman must feel | Maugham Pl 4.273 How have he and Margery been getting on lately?—Oh, all right, like they always have || Walpole ST 152 He was *unlike* he had ever been.

Often with incomplete clause: Masefield E 62 shook him like a dog a rat | Zangwill G 62 he shakes me like a terrier a cat | Bennett HM 2 See how they seize a half-holiday, like hungry dogs a bone.

21.3₄. An older fuller form is *like as:* More U 77 Answer a foole according to his folishnes, like as I do now | ib 238 lyke as they make ... so they exhorte | Sh Hml I. 2.217 like as it would speak | AV Est 2.20 Esther did the commandement of Mordecai, like as when she was brought vp with him | Di Do 175 like as in the track of the remorseless monster, death.

On the combination of *as* with a conjunction of contrast (*as though*) or of condition (*as if*) see 21.7₉.

21.3₅. A comparison of inequality is introduced by *than;* on the role of this particle as a relative word see vol. III 9.6.

Other examples of clauses with *than:*

Macaulay H 1.211 they were probably suspected more than was distinctly avowed to them | Golding SD 258 depths deeper than she knew existed.

3. Contrast.

21.4₁. The two statements are contrasted. The connexion between them may first (A) be loose, denoting simple coexistence.

3 A. Simple Contrast.

Coordination:

He has a house of his own, (but) his brother lives in a flat.

Subordination:

(a) He has a house of his own, whereas his brother lives in a flat.

While he has a house of his own, his brother lives in a flat.

It will be seen that it is immaterial which of the two statements is contained in the main statement and which is expressed in a clause. The two conjunctions are taken from local and temporal clauses respectively, but their original meanings are here completely obliterated.

3 B. Contradiction.

21.4₂. Second, the connexion between the two contrasted statements may be closer (B); an element of *unexpectedness* in the factual coexistence then enters into the collocation. Here again we have

Coordination:

He is very poor, nevertheless (all the same; and yet) he is quite happy.

He is very poor, he is, however, quite happy.

He is very poor, he is quite happy though.

Note here the adverbial use of *though* placed (with weak stress) at the end of the sentence.

Subordination:

21.43. (a). Though he is very ill, he is quite conscious.

The usual ('concessive') conjunction is *though* (OE *þeah*) or the fuller *although*.

Sh R2 III. 2.193 Speake sweetly man, although thy lookes be sowre | Hml II. 2.208 Though this be madnesse, Yet there is method in't | Hudibras (q Mätzner) Tho' women first were made for men, Yet men were made for them agen | Swift J 59 [this] had made him angry, though he be a good-natured fellow | Swift 3.247 He understood the language, although it were different from that of his island | Fielding 5.442 you will succeed, though Briareus himself was to rise again | Di X 15 wishing, though it be only for a second, to divert the vision's strong gaze | Walpole C 302 Even though he was persuaded to return, the mischief is done.

If a fact is denoted the indicative is used; if a vague possibility, the subjunctive, as in the quotation from Hamlet. This cannot, however, be called a strict rule in actual usage, for deviations in both directions are found even in careful writers.

Though is generally termed a concessive conjunction, and the clause a concessive clause, but it should be noted that the concession is really expressed in the main statement and not in the clause.

(a*). Sh Lr IV. 6.219 Though that the Queen on special cause is here, Her army is mou'd on.

21.44. Mention must here be made of the frequent idiomatic position of a predicative of a following verb before *though:* Marlowe J 726 Small though the number was that kept the Towne, They fought it out | Sh Tw II. 4.24 yong though thou art, thine eye Hath staid vpon some fauour that it loues (cf. Tp V. 1.179) | Mitford OV 193 looking as if he felt their full import [of the words], ploughboy though he be | Thack N 143 he has taught himself to read, dull boy at the day-

school though he was | Mrs. Browning A 156 deal with us nobly, women though we be | Ruskin Sel 1.368 Neither originality nor change, good though both may be, is ever to be sought in itself | Meredith E 426 sure of her though he was beginning to feel, there was a touch of the unknown in her | Walpole OL 15 but, powerful man though he was, he couldn't work miracles (very frequent in Walpole) | James RH 209 January though it was, the mild stillness seemed to vibrate with faint midsummer sounds.

Stevenson here also uses *although:* B 306 Churls although they were, they will be lacked and looked for | id D 64 what had passed, terrible although it was, looked almost bright.

21.45. Instead of *though* in this position before a predicative we often find *as*, which generally though not always has concessive force; many examples in vol. III 9.4, e. g. Goldsm V 2.98 But rogue as I am, still I may be your friend | Shaw 2.24 I know some family secrets, young as I am. (Cf. also the corresponding use of *that*, vol. III 8.17).

The word placed before *as* need not be a predicative, see e. g. Austen M 137 shrinking from such a compliment, highly as it gratified her | Collins W 301 Little as I know of the law, I am certain that it can protect a woman | ib 470 not caring to show so much as decent outward respect to Catherine, kindly as he always treated her | ib 601 Sincerely as I loathed the man, the prodigious strength ... impressed me | Macaulay H 1.166 It is creditable to Charles's temper that, ill as he thought of his species, he never became a misanthrope | James RH 359 do you suppose I would sacrifice my precious child, little comfort as I have in her, to a man against whose character a syllable could be breathed?

21.46. (b). *However* is rarely used = *though:* Defoe R 2.71 But however they resolv'd not to change their habitation, yet they agreed.

This is different from the familiar use of *however* with an adjective or adverb to denote an unexpectedly high degree: However late it is we may yet catch the train.

(c). We may reckon the participle *notwithstanding* as a preposition-conjunction: Bunyan P 13 notwithstanding the steps be there. Other examples 6.3_4.

(c*). Preposition with *that:* Di P 585 *Notwithstanding* that Sam called him by name several times, he still continued to smoke | NP 1909 it was decided to take the aeroplane for an outing *despite* that a bothersome fog enveloped the field | Fielding 4.34 he had done some other good things, *for that* he had once sent the whole profits to a friend (also ib 39 and 45).

(d*). A rare use is seen in Caine C 291 I know who the letter was written to, *all the same that* he kept the address side of the envelope hidden.

21.47. (f). *For*, chiefly in combinations with *all*, *any*, *aught*, frequently means nearly the same thing as 'in spite of'; examples abound, a few may be given here: Malory 112 and so for all that I coude do, he stroke of his hede | Fielding 3.499 it may be so, for any thing which I know to the contrary | Thack S 114 he may be a very fine classical scholar for what I know | Ward E 77 there was something strangely pitiful in the whole figure, for all its grace.

This leads us to what concerns us in this chapter, the use of *for all* to introduce a clause: Sh Wiv I. 1.281 goe, sirha, for all you are my man, goe wait vpon my cosen (also ib V. 5.204 and Cymb V. 4.209) | AV John 21.11 and for all there were so many [fishes], yet was not the net broken | Spectator 181 for all she looks so innocent .. she is no fool | Sheridan 349 I know well enough ... for all they think to make a fool o' me | GE M 1.35 I think Tom's clever, for all he doesn't like books | ead A 64 she was a rare girl to spin, for all she squinted | Walpole C 209 Might have a stroke any day for all he looks so strong! | Stevenson JHF 86 the steps fell

lightly and oddly, with a certain swing, for all they went so slowly | Hope Z 266 singing as he went for all there was that gash in his cheek.

(f*). The same with *that:* Doyle S 2.42 For all that it was a cold night, the sweat was pouring down my face | Hope Z 306 for all that he is a married man and mighty fond of his wife, he should know any secret of mine | Galsw Sw 249 she was still deeply in love with him for all that they had been married two years | Norris P 219 the day, for all that the month was December, was fine.

21.4s. (g). A frequent combination is *all* + a verb (generally, but not always in the subjunctive) placed before the subject; often in Ch, etc.: Ch HF 1820 al be ther in me no justice, me liste not to do hit now | ib 1980 For hit [the house] was sixty myle of lengthe, Al was the timber of no strengthe | MP 14.7 Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe | A 734 Al speke he | C 451 al sholde his children sterve for famyne | E 99 Al have I nought ... | T 4.1460 For al be that his moeble is him biraft, His olde sleighte is yet so with him laft | Caxton R 8 he did it not, all hath he but lytyl thanks | ib 21 thenne shal ye wynne my loue, ye, al had ye slayn my fader moder and alle my kyn.

Hence as one word *albeit* used as a conjunction up to our own days in literary style: Sh Merch I. 3.62 albeit I neither lend nor borrow ... Yet ... Ile breake a custome | Di D 113 I was recovering a little ... albeit Mr. Creakle loomed behind him | Kipling L 7 albeit his hand was shaking || Mi A 27 albeit what ever thing we hear or see ... may be fitly call'd our loot, yet ... it appears ....

(g*). Also *albeit that:* Mandv 158 alle be it that men fynden gode dyamyndes in Ynde, 3it natheles men ... (also ib 184 and 185) | Caxton R 92 al be yt that this auenture is now fallen.

An old variant is seen in Caxton R 99 I callyd her aunte, *how be it that* she was nothyng sybbe to me.

4. Interdependence.

4 A. Condition.

21.51. Two statements are dependent on one another and represented as naturally belonging together, one being the consequence of the other. The dependence may in the first place (A) be looser, as being merely hypothetical, existing in thought only. Here we speak of condition.

Coordination:

He may be ill, in that case he will not come.
He might be ill, in that case he would not come.
He might have been ill, in that case he would not have come.

Very frequently we have some word in which the condition is hinted at in an abrupt way, followed by *and* and a full sentence expressing the consequence, often in the imaginative preterit. This form is probably old in the language, though not frequent in literature till the vivid style of narration of the 19th c. Examples: Stevenson T 244 One more word of your sauce, and I'll call you down and fight you | Lloyd George Speech 1919 A little quarrel about a murder in Bosnia and the world is aflame | Locke HB 123 A few days more of this and I'll go mad || Scott OM 52 Another glance of Edith's eye, another walk by Edith's side, and my resolution would melt away | Brontë V 105 Another half hour and all doors would be locked | Stevenson K 216 I had awakened just in time; a little later, and we must have fled in front of them | Swinnerton S 305 His fists were clenched. A word, and he would lose his temper | Caine P 107 Another moment and what might not have happened!

21.5₂. A condition is often implied in an adjunct, a relative clause, an infinitive, etc.: Ruskin S 94 the mother's counsel, acted upon in time, would have saved her son | Gissing H 156 dressed a little more elegantly, she would in no way have jarred with the tone of average middle-class society | Macaulay B 189 the result is something which in a novel we should condemn as caricature | Gissing H 225 Any other man would have taken down the two bottles | Beresford Pris. Hartl. 125 Anything I did would only react on me | You would be a fool to refuse this offer. Cf. vol. IV 9.3(2) and above 16.5_4.

A condition is also implied in such proverbial sayings as Once bitten, twice shy | Once a clergyman and always a clergyman | Nothing venture, nothing have (e. g. Collins M 376) | Kennedy R 106 Fine before seven, rain before eleven.

Cf. also the ellipsis in Pinero Q 142 worst come to the worst, I shall defend you by every means in my power.

Subordination:

21.5₃. (a). The regular conjunctions of condition are *if* and its negative counterpart *unless* (originally *on*, or rarely some other preposition, + *less*) = 'if ... not'. Exemplification of the ordinary usage is hardly necessary in this place. Many quotations were given in vol. IV 9 and 10 to illustrate imaginative tenses to express unreality, impossibility, or non-fulfilment, and especially the use of *was* and *were*. The use of indicative and subjunctive in other cases will be dealt with elsewhere.

Though *when* sometimes approaches the meaning of *if* and loses its temporal sense, the difference is generally upheld, see, e. g. Ruskin S 178 only with his eyes on you when need is, and his arm like an iron bar, if need be | Macaulay B 5 When his Majesty (Frederic William] took a walk, every human being fled before him, as if a tiger had broken loose from a menagerie. If he met a lady in the street, he gave her a kick, and told her

to go home and mind her brats. If he saw a clergyman staring at the soldiers, he admonished the reverend gentleman to betake himself to study and prayer.

If sometimes has the same shade of meaning as *in case (that)* (21.5_{10}): preparation for a possible contingency: Bunyan P 37 he went to them, if peradventure he might awake them | ib 46 carefully looking on this side, and on that ... if happily he might find his roll.

And *lest* may be used similarly (a development of the use of *lest* in a content-clause after expressions of fear): Di H 246 I sent him the money to ride, lest he should have none of his own to spare | Ward E 141 she was carrying a light waterproof, which aunt Pattie had forced upon her lest the scirocco should end in rain | Crofts St 114 However, lest you should not have heard all, I shall begin at the beginning.

If is often strengthened by *only* (the one thing wanting); if we are to trust Al. Schmidt, it is not found in Sh: BJo 1.103 Sir, if you will pardon me only, I'll glory in all the rest of my exploits | if only he would keep silent I should be glad.

If = 'even if': Stevenson T 48 I'll have that treasure if I search a year.

21.5₄. *And* was formerly often used to introduce a condition; in modern editions this is often spelt *an*, as the use is no more understood. See on OE Wülfing Anglia Beiblatt 1901.89; further NED, Franz Sh N p. 589, on corresponding MHG *unde* Kraus in Haupts Zs. 44.149 ff., and on OSw. *ok* Östergren, Språk och stil 1.88, Bergqvist, Den kond. satsfogn, i fsv. 13 ff. Examples: Ch B 3140 and I were a pope ... every mighty man ... Sholde have a wyf (many other places in Skeat's Glossary) | Roister 16 He shall goe without hir, and he were my brother | Malory 695 (and often elsewhere) | Dekker Sh I. 1.126 Ile speake to them, and they were Popes.

Often seemingly vg, thus in Sh Mids I. 2 frequently

the artisans | H4A I. 2.107 and I do not, I am a villaine | ib 112 and I doe not, call me a villaine (and often elsewhere) | Defoe R 317 Will they give us quarter then, and we will yield? | Stevenson MP 48 as Sc: an it had been His wull | Tennyson in L 3.160 jokingly.

And = if is especially frequent before *please:* Sh R3 I. 1.88 and please your Worship | Swift J 115 I came home, an't please you, at six | id T 43 An please your worships | Hardy R 30 We'll give 'em a song, an' it please the Lord.

We often find *an(d) if* = the single *if:* Caxton R 72 | Sh R3 III. 1.91 and 148.

And sometimes *but and* or *but and if:* Caxton R 91 But and the prynce had nede of them | ib 57 But and yf he were twyes as moche false and ylle as he is (also ib 58).

If and *an* also serve (served) to introduce an indirect question (clause primary), see vol. III 2.4$_6$.

21.5$_5$. *But* is used as a negative conjunction of condition = 'if not' (see my book Negation, p. 135 f.):

Sh Oth I. 3.194 I here do giue that with all my heart, Which but thou hast [? hadst] already with all my heart I would keepe from thee | Merch III. 1.75 it shall go hard but I will better the instruction | Scott Iv 89 it will go hard but I will requite it || Osborne 13 tis ten to one but they have store | Swift J 26 it is odds but Mr. Dyer will be hanged | Galsw WM 83 Ten to one but there'll be complications. On the meaning of this betting expression see Negation p. 156 with many quotations.

21.5$_6$. (a*). Conjunction with *that:* Shakespeare frequently *if that:* Gent IV. 4.115 What would you with her, *if that* I be she? | By DJ 6.3 a devil (if that there be one) | ib 7.36 There was a man, if that he was a man (also ib 6.38 and 7.63) | Malory 111 that wille I not ... *onles that* thou will yeue me the brachet | Scott

OM 96 the puir chield hardly kens whether he has ane [soul] or no, unless that he whiles swears by it.

But that = 'if not': Defoe M 204 I had not gone out with him but that I took him for a very civil gentleman | Keats 2.147 Saturn ... would have sunk among the rest, But that he met Enceladus's eye | Di B 1.229 I should have come down sooner, but that I have been much engaged with these matters.

This really indicates a negatived reason = 'if it were not that (because) ...'.

Other examples, also with the obsolete *but if*, in Negation, p. 135.

(a**). *That* used to repeat a conjunction: Lyly E 42 which none can or may deny vnlesse he be false, or that he be an enimye to humanitie | Bacon A 3.1 if you want fresh water ... or that your ship needeth repaire | Sh Hml IV. 7.150 Weigh what conuenience both of time and meanes May fit vs to our shape, if this should faile; And that our drift looke through our bad performance | AV Job 31.38 If my land cry against me, or that the furrowes likewise thereof complaine || cf. also Spectator 173 But were she like other women, and that there were any talking to her, how constant must the pleasure of that man be, who ....

(b). On *when* used = 'if' see above 21.5_3.

21.57. (c). Prepositions serving to introduce a conditional clause with negative meaning:

Roister 13 I die *except* thou helpe | Greene J4 411 no meanes of peace shall ere be found, Except I haue my daughter or thy head | Marlowe F 740 Ile not speake an other worde, except the ground were perfumde [= ed. 1616 vnlesse] | Sh H5 IV. 4.10 thou dyest ... except thou doe giue to me egregious ransome | BJo 3.48 I cannot leave, except thou help me | AV Gen 32.26 I will not let thee goe, except thou blesse me | Shelley L 739 No honest Christian would sit on such a jury except he felt himself thoroughly embued with tolera-

tion | Carlyle R 1.70 they were not distinguished by intellect, except it might be intellect in the unconscious or instinctive condition || Fulg 4 *withoute* I be dryuyn hens | Malory 75 I wyll haue his hede withoute he doo me homage | Sh Err III. 2.91 such a one, as a man may not speake of, without he say sir reuerence [in Sh only vg speakers] | Congreve 266 he can't be cured without I suck the poison from his wounds | Defoe Rox 260 without you give me leave | Tennyson 407 I needs must break These bonds that so defame me: not without she wills it | Spencer Ed 38 the artist, of whatever kind, cannot produce a truthful work without he understands the laws of the phenomena he represents | Shaw C 24 you wont like to spar with nobody without youre well paid for it | Mackenzie SA 247 [vg] he couldn't be half an hour late without I was ready to tear his eyes out: "The use is good old English, but bad modern English" Fowler MEU. || Ch MP 3.160 *save* ther were a fewe welles | Tennyson 345 for save yourself desire it, We will not touch upon him ev'n in jest (frequent in Tennyson, but in NED no examples between Gower and him; Tennyson also uses the variant *saving:* 310 for saving I be join'd to her I seem as nothing in the matter . . .).

(c*). With *that:* Fulg 27 He shall not be dispraysid for me *Withoute that* I be compellid therto | Sh Sonn 66.14 from these I would be gone, *Save that* to dye, I leaue my loue alone.

21.5s. (d). *So* is often in more or less popular style used as a conjunction, equivalent to *if* or *if only*. This development is interesting because it forms a parallel to the evolution of Latin *si: si dis placet* 'thus it pleases the gods', see Bréal, Ess. de sémantique 225 (note *sic* < *si* + *ce* as in *hic*). *So* in this sense is often, but not always followed by a subjunctive. The transition is perhaps most easily understood before *please* (e. g. Sh R2 I. 1.45 so please my souereigne).

Examples: Ch E 1659 so ther be noon obstacle |

Marlowe F 332 he surrenders vp to him his soule, So he will spare him 24 years | Sh R2 IV. 1.314 Then give me leaue to goe. Whither? Whither you will, so I were [= be] from your sights | Bacon E 60.1 so it be without too great insolency | Osborne 72 soe hee do's it well, wee will not fall out | Rehearsal 33 So it gets us money, 'tis no great matter | Lamb E 1.135 She must have a story—well, ill, or indifferently told—so there be life stirring in it | By DJ 1.118 I care not for new pleasures, as the old Are quite good enough for me, so they but hold | Di Do 311 she had prayed to die young, so she might only die in his arms | Hope I 19 we forgive much ill-treatment so it is secret.

Cf. the wish or imprecation *So help me God!* to which there is a Spanish parallel: Calderón Alc. de Z: así el cielo te guarde (other parallels from various languages Sandfeld Tidskr. f. fil. 3 r. 20.88). Cf. BJo 3.110 Now, so truth help me, I must needs say this.

(d*). *So* is expanded by *be*, *but*, and chiefly, of course, by *that* or the vg *as:* Mandeville 40 he makethe him sum promys . . . beso it be not against his lawe | Bunyan P 39 so be we get into the way, what's matter | Stevenson T 128 he would, maybe, think of the old mother, so be as [= if] she's alive | Dickinson S 154 What that sword shall be called is small matter, so but the hand that wields it be strong || Ch B 1638 So that I wiste . . . I wolde demen | Greene J4 416 [they] reck not how they clime, so that they clime | Hazlitt A 48 So that I can but have her with me always, I care for nothing more | Di X 49 not much caring what they laughed at, so that they laughed at any rate | Ruskin Sel 1.390 Rather choose rough work than smooth work, so only that the practical purpose be answered | GE A 293 She did not care what she did, so that it made some change in her life | Hope R 273 She did not care what he was, so that he was hers, so that he should not leave her ||

Sheridan 297 never mind, so as you get them off! | Stevenson M 128 I care not, so as you are but carried in the right direction.

(d*). *Conditionally that* = 'if' is found once only in Sh: 3H6 I. 1.196 I here entayle The crowne to thee ... Conditionally that heere you take oath | also North 252 conditionally, that they did lay downe armes.

21.5$_9$. *As* (or *so*) *long as* often serves to introduce a condition = 'if (only)'; the original reference to the length of time is evident in some of the quotations, but is frequently absent: Wordsw P 5.25 and yet man, As long as he shall be the child of earth, Might almost weep | Austen S 303 her resolution of not stirring from Cleveland as long as Marianne remained ill | Di Do 23 I'll drink out of anything you like, so long as I can drink to you | Doyle S 5.238 there is no reason, so long as the ends of justice are served | Stevenson V 82 so long as you are a bit of a coward you fulfil the whole duty of man | Benson D 105 as long as that lasted, he would be blind to any falling of hers | Carpenter P 99 It is of no moment what the product is, as long as it fulfils this one condition | Meredith E 176 Irish, English, Scottish scenery, all's one so long as it's beautiful | Wilde S 5 As long as a woman can look ten years younger than her own daughter she is perfectly satisfied | Kaye Smith T 288 it mattered little who filled the town as long as it was full | Locke HB 194 I'll write about China till I'm dead, so long as I don't have to go back to the infernal country | Graves IC 53 "Let them hate me," he once said, "so long as they obey me."

Rarer Conway CB 47 What did that matter *so long that* I knew there was light.

(e). *The moment*, an example vol. IV. 9.3(1).

21.5$_{10}$. (f). *In case* generally differs from *if* by implying a preparation for future eventualities: Roister 44 This would cost you your life in case ye were a man | Swift J 3 have it ready, in case she should send for

it | Di N 641 I'll not hint 'em [my suspicions] now, in case you should be disappointed | Collins W 383 they made a bed for her on the seat, in case she felt tired | Hardy W 109 he directed the surgeon to go to the harbour in case his services might be necessary there | Kaye Smith HA 99 He ought to see a doctor, but he daren't, in case the doctor ordered him to rest | Maugham HB 76 he waited in his study, not leaving it for a moment in case just then Rose should come | J. S. Fletcher in BDS 418 he carried a blank cheque in case he should want cash | Ertz G 233 Here is my address, in case you forget it.

Note the combination with *lest* in Stevenson T 30 All they would do was to give me a loaded pistol, lest we were attacked; and to promise to have horses ready saddled, in case we were pursued.

(g). An imperative is used to introduce a conditioning clause:

Suppose is very frequent (NED *suppose* 7 from 14th c. on), e. g. Browning: Suppose my Œdipus should lurk at last under a pork-pie hat and crinoline | Suppose he came back to-morrow, what would happen? | Di D 255 Suppose you were to take a little journey now. Suppose you were to go down into the old part of the country.

Rarer combinations with *put:* BJo 3.88 Put case, that you or I were ill affected Unto the state ... Might not I go into the Arsenal | Selden 56 Put case I bow to the altar, am I guilty of idolatry? | Galsw WM 102 Put it that there was another life ... that life must be just the same || Bunyan G 51 *Set* case I should ... might I not then find some encouragement?

An example with *take it* is printed vol. IV. 9.3(1). *Say* = suppose (Poutsma, p. 703).

Cf. *supposing* (vol. IV. 9.3(1)); *provided, granted, given,* above 6.4_4.

21.61. (h). A condition is very often denoted by a clause without any conjunction, but containing a verb

placed before its subject. This construction, which is found in all the Gothonic languages, is often explained from a question with implied positive answer: Will you come? [Yes, then] we can start at once.—A clear instance of this is AV 1. Cor. 7.27 Art thou bound vnto a wife? seeke not to bee loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seeke not a wife.

But interrogative sentences, though undoubtedly explaining much, are not the only sources of our construction. Pretty frequently we find a subjunctive used in such a way that it cannot have arisen from a question, but must be due to a main sentence expressing a desire, permission, or the like: AR 164 uor beo hit enes to-broken, ibet ne bið hit neuer | Towneley 171 Gett I those land lepars, I breke ilka bone | Sh Merch III. 2.61 Liue thou, I liue with much more dismay | Cymb IV. 3.30 come more, for more you're ready | John III. 3.31 and creep the time nere so slow, Yet it shall come, for me to doe thee good.

21.62. But let us, irrespectively of the historical origin, marshal up a collection of quotations, arranged grammatically.

Present indicative (in some instances the form may just as well be subjunctive): Caxton R 97 that ye ... bileue noman ouer hastely, is he frende or cosyn | Roister 52 When ye will, they [women] will not: Will not ye, then will they | Sh Gent III. 1.186 Tarry I here, I but attend on death: But, fly I hence, I fly away from life | Meredith E 165 and comes a cold day we haul on the metal-button coat again | Hardy R 391 Well, she's asleep now; and have you a hundred gallants, neither they nor you can insult her any more | Henley Burns 244 those natural instincts the fostering of which is for most boys, have they genius or have they not, an essential process of development | Bennett HM 51 you are absolute lord over the noddle, will you but exercise the powers of lordship.

In the majority of cases we have the imaginative preterit (cf. vol. IV ch. IX); note *was* in some quotations, while others have the distinctive subjunctive: Ch A 766 Fayn wolde I doon yow mirthe, wiste I how | Sh Lr I. 1.286 stood I within his grace, I would prefer him to a better place | Kipling K 394 Knew I a charm to make him wise, I'd sell my jewels and buy it | Meredith T 79 stood you at the altar, I would pluck you from the man holding your hand! || Sterne 23 was I an absolute prince, I would appoint able judges | Wells U 350 It would be so easy to bring about a world peace within a few decades, was there but the will for it among men! || Dekker F 1581 Were shee a saint, she may be wonne with gold | Scott Iv 72 I say that were he in England, and durst repeat the challenge, I would give him every advantage of weapons | Austen P 179 he would hardly think a month's ablutions enough to cleanse him from its impurities, were he once to enter it | Meredith E 33 It would be well for my happiness were I a cottager | Stevenson D 7 it is necessary to know some one thing to the bottom—were it only literature | Hardy L 31 were I ever so rich I feel I could not rectify the past by money | Mackenzie SA 163 Were she alive now and should she make the same remark now, Mary would reply ... || Landor P 6 Even were I sensible as you are, I should not be able to discover my own faults || Dekker F 1119 Hadst thou chosen wisedome, this blacke had beene white | Southey L 47 had my eyes been shut I could have half believed ... | Brontë P 50 even had I desired to be submissive to my uncles, I could not have stooped to have won their favour | Phillpotts GR 52 Often, had he been invisible too long, his master would wander whistling round his haunts || Gay BP 101 should I tamely submit to such usage I should debase my-self through all Europe | Sheridan 257 he has undertaken, should it be necessary, to swear and prove that ... | Di N 74 the

impossibility of reaching it [home], should he feel ever so anxious to return | Stevenson D 182 he pointed out that should he be arrested, it would probably involve him in the fall of our opponents | Garnett T 30 Even could I deem them true, should I not think charitably of thee? || Sh Err I. 1.145 which princes, would they, may not disannul || Austen M 58 she would gladly have been there too, might she have gone in uninvited | Di Do 320 Happy Florence would have been, might she have ventured to bear her father company || Dekker F 1012 Could you suruaie ten worlds, yet you must die || ib 816 did I want Jewels, Gold could beget them | Sh Gent II. 7.18 Didst thou but know the inly touch of loue, Thou wouldst as soone goe kindle fire with snow | Southey L 30 Did such an event take place now, I should shake the dust from my feet | Kingsley H 363 did they dare now, they would have dared long ago | Di M 201 Did the door move, he looked towards it with a livid face | Seeley E 269 this might seem a paradox, did we not remember that ... | Walpole C 315 Nevertheless, did any one dare to attack the Bishop, he was immediately his most ardent defender (*did* frequent in Walpole) | Rose Macaulay T 215 she told him ... that he would never understand, did she tell him for a year.

After *as* the inverted word-order is the equivalent of an *as if*-clause: Sh Hml IV. 7.88 And to such wondrous doing brought his horse, As had he beene encorps't and demi-natur'd With the braue beast.

21.63. Sometimes clauses of this kind are continued with the direct word-order as if the first had contained *if:* Hazlitt A 46 Should this unpleasant business ... succeed, and I should become free, do you think S. L. will agree | Massinger N II. 2.30 were you two years elder, And I had a wife, or gamesome mistresse, I durst trust you with neither | Wordsworth P 8.307 were it otherwise, and we found evil fast as we found good,

How could the innocent heart bear up and live! | Scott OM 134 Were I armed as you are, and we were alone upon a hillside, you should not ask me the question twice | Phillpotts GR 199 Even had he been right and his prayer had freed such a being, would the Almighty have permitted it?

Notes on Condition in General.

21.64. The general hypothetical character of conditional clauses is shown (1) by the fact that a future time is regularly denoted by the present tense:

If he comes to-morrow we will tell him everything,—

whereas *will* after *if* always denotes volition:

If any men will come after me, let him denie himselfe (AV Luke 9.23),—

and (2) by the frequency of imaginative preterits and pluperfects:

If he came, if he had come, etc.

A distinction with regard to the use of these imaginative tenses seems to have escaped notice. If we are talking of some future event, the choice of present or preterit denotes a slight difference only in degree of probability: if he comes to-morrow, we will tell him everything: if he came to-morrow, we would tell him everything (with the variants *if he should come* and *if he were to come*—three nuances of probability). If, on the other hand, we are talking of something in the present time, the imaginative preterit excludes the possibility: if he were in town, he would call—implying that he is not in town. Cf. on the other hand, "If he is in town, he will call," where the possibility is left open.

21.65. What we may term pseudo-condition is found when the *if*-form is used rhetorically to point a contrast, or to show that two statements are equally true. Examples were given in vol. IV 10.3(2) to illustrate the

use of *was* (or *were*): Defoe R 159 If I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse taylor [= I really was bad as a carpenter, but worse as a tailor], etc.

A frequent colloquial idiom is seen in Swift P 82 she's on the wrong side of thirty, if she be a day | Austen M 398 if I have spoken once to Rebecca about that carpet, I am sure I have spoken at least a dozen times | Di P 103 you're fifty if you're an hour | id Do 240 he has been to Warwick Castle fifty times, if he has been there once | Collins W 504 If I've heard him say that once, I've heard him say it a hundred times | Benson D 124 he must be sixty if he is an hour | Di Do 271 the alterations in the house cost full 5000 pound if they cost a penny.

Other examples of pseudo-condition: Bennett HL 346 If Edwin Clayhanger was startled, so was she startled | Thack P 509 [it] was harmless, if it was absurd | (quoted by Sonnenschein) If [= whenever] he had done wrong, he always confessed his fault.

Similarly the reason for a fact is given in this form: Macaulay E 2.101 If she [Mary] was able to establish the Catholic worship, it was evidently because the people cared far less for the Protestant religion than for the rights of property | Swinburne L 238 If I am ill it comes of miserable thoughts | If he hasn't married it is because he was crossed in love in his youth.

21.6s. As a general rule *if* and *though* may be said to express opposite ideas, *if* the potential, *though* the real: if he is ill : though he is ill. But in some combinations their meanings approach one another, so that they may even be interchangeable, thus if the element of unexpectedness is emphasized by the addition of *even:*

Kipling L 49 no man born of woman is strong enough to take liberties with his public, even though they be—which they ain't—all they say they are | Zangwill G 5 even though you did not venture out of your apartment | Trollope DCh 1.68 a feat which no gentleman of forty-

five could perform, even though he painted himself ever so.

Thus *even though* comes to mean practically the same thing as *even if*.

Cf. on *as if* and *as though* 21.7$_9$.

After *no wonder* and similar expressions a clause with *though* or *if* really performs the same function as a content-clause with *that* standing as the subject, *no wonder* being the predicative. Two old corresponding quotations: Gammer 140 Was it any maruaile though the poor woman arose? | Marlowe F 1300 No maruel tho the angry Greekes pursude With tenne yeares warre the rape of such a queene.

Here *but* may also be used: Maugham Alt 189 I shouldn't wonder but he wanted to fight somebody.

21.67. To introduce an incomplete clause (without a finite verb) *if* very often approaches the meaning of 'even if, though', or 'though perhaps a little': Sh Tp I. 2.476 One word more Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee | Galsw TL 184 looking very pretty, if pale | Bennett ECh 288 the houses had long if narrow gardens at the back | Mackenzie SA 149 in the year 1890 English women still clung, if less tightly every year, to the fashion of a middle age | Kaye Smith T 105 an aristocratic background to the bourgeois if picturesque High Street | Rose Macaulay P 118 Peggy is a dear, cheerful girl, if limited | NP 1925 the man of genius ... is readily tempted to an irregular, if not dissipated life.

Thus *if only* = 'if (though) it were only' (often = 'in order to', or 'because'): By L 122 you must come over, if only a day | Bennett PL 150 And, if only to avoid the momentary humiliation, he would have been well content to ... | Wells Ma 2.249 How glad he was for his adventure, if only because it had made him lie among the rocks and think of her | id PF 192 I'd hoped it if only for the sake of meeting you again | McCarthy 2.13 the debate would have been memorable if only

for the powerful speech of Lord Lyndhurst | Priestley G 495 All the relatives were proud of somebody or something, if only of their appetites | id B 93 When I decided to return, I had no money and no further prospects, if only because I was wanted by the police | Walpole Cp 59 His was a figure that would have been noticed anywhere, if only for its physical health and shining cleanliness.

Subclasses under Conditional Clauses.

21.7₁. (1) Under condition we must reckon restrictions in the formulas *as far as*, or *so far as* (*we know*, . . . *he is concerned*, etc.). On the earlier rule (*as far as*, except after a negation) and the increasing use of *so* see Storm EPh 696. I have noted *so far as* from Bunyan, Franklin, Scott, Di, Stevenson, Doyle, H. James, *as far as* from Macaulay, Shaw, E. Carpenter, Wilde, Kipling; both forms without any seeming discrimination, from Ruskin, Mrs. H. Ward, A. Lang.

Cf. above 21.5₉ on *so* (*as*) *long as*.

Another formula is *insomuch that* (e. g. More U 179, Di D 88).

21.7₂. (2) Under condition we must also reckon those cases in which an increase in one respect is conditioned by (paralleled by) an increase in another respect. The usual expression is *the* . . . *the* . . . with a comparative after each *the; the* is OE instrumental *þy* to denote the difference. Complete proportionality is generally out of the question. The conditioning clause is generally placed first; very often the copula *is* is left out.

Examples: Sh Tp III. 1.80 And all the more it seekes to hide it selfe, The bigger bulke it shewes | Marlowe H 1.334 The more she striv'd, the deeper was she strooke | GE A 315 The sooner she went the better | Carpenter P 15 the more often a man has been in prison, the more likely he is to return there | the more haste the less speed.

21.73. *That* is often inserted after the comparative in the clause: Ch A 4051—2 The moore queynte crekes that they make, The more wol I stele whan I take | More U 90 the better that the prynce is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them | Marlowe H 2.243 The neerer that he came, the more she fled | [Sh?] Edw3 III But, all the mightier that their number is, The greater glory reaps the visionary | Boswell 1.463 the sooner that a man begins to enjoy his wealth the better | Mackenzie S 1.274 The more of Swinburne that Michael read, the more impatient he grew of school | Rogers Wine of Fury 228 I think the less that I and those I care for have to do with her the better | Steele Face of the Waters 74 The sooner, therefore, that he left Lucknow, the better | Gosse D 82 His disciples became the more devoted to him the more that the sanhedrin derided him | Ruskin S 154 The more that my life disappointed me, the more solemn and wonderful it became to me.

That is especially frequent after the subject: Thack V 522 the less that is said about her doings is in fact the better | James A 2.16 The more people that know it, the better | Jenkins B 92 The more questions and remarks that poured down upon him, the more persistently the manager smiled | Galsw C 34 The more that is expected of him, the closer must be the expression of his friends | Ferber S 10 the more things that happen to you, the richer you are.

In many of these *that* might be taken as the 'relative'. This is confirmed by the exceptional use of *which:* Hunt A 52 The more even of fugitive evil which it sees ..., nay, the more which is disclosed to it ..., only the more convinces it that the great mystery of all things will allow of no lasting evil | Kingsley H 211 Henceforth the less communication which passes between me and any member of your family the better.

21.74. Inversion is pretty frequent in the postposed main statenent, especially if it is preceded by more than

one *the*-clause; this often contributes to clearness as to which is the superordinate: Ch C 597 And ever the hyer he is of estaat, The more is he holden desolaat | Austen S 18 the more I know of the world, the more am I convinced | ib 34 the noisier they were the better was he pleased | Sayce Princ. Comp. Philol. 243 the farther we go back, the nearer we approach the natural state, the more do we meet with the intricate multiplicity of nature | Merriman S 15 in this country, the less you find, the less you see, the less you understand, the simpler is your existence | Macaulay E 2.92 The more we read the history of past ages, the more we observe the signs of our times, the more do we feel our hearts filled and swelled up by a good hope for the future destinies of the human race.

The is often omitted by prosiopesis in the main sentence in "More's the pity". Cf. also in the clause Wells TB 2.148 More I see of that man the more I like him.

21.7₅. The conditioning clause may be placed last; in that case the comparative with *the* never begins the main part of the sentence: Goldsm 658 they said they liked the book the better the more it made them cry | Keats 5.141 I should like your brothers more the more I know them | Peacock M 212 History ... becomes more agreeable the more romance is mixed up with it | Di D 195 his face darkened more and more the more he and my aunt observed each other | Butler W 417 I succeed less and less the older I grow | Sayce Princ. Comp. Philol. 161 the rich creativeness ... disappears more and more the nearer we approach our own day | Walpole Cp 128 And perhaps one will get more and more helpless the longer one stays | Mackenzie S 953 I believe in the absolutism of evil the more, the more I see of evil men and women.

21.7₆. An older form was OE *swā ... swā:* Sweet AS Reader 16.3 swā leng swā wyrse: AR *se ... se, so*

... *so:* 98 ant so waxeð þe wo se lengre, se wurse 328 so lengre, so more.

The difference is not infrequently indicated by th preposition *by* and in various other ways: Lyly C 30 And by so much the more hast thou increased thy car by how much the more thou hast shewed thy cunnin | id E 49 Philautus by how much the lesse he looke for this discourse, by so much the more he lyked i (often in Lyly) | Sh As V. 2.49 by so much the mor shall I to morrow be at the height of heart heauinesse by how much I shal thinke my brother happie | R3 II 2.126 Which would be so much the more dangerous By how much the estate is greene | H4A I. 2.233 B how much better then my word I am, By so muc shall I falsifie mens hopes | John II. 1.80 | Fielding T 1.121 and by how much the better man you are your self, by so much the more will you be inclined to be lieve me | Ruskin U 92 But by precisely so much as hi power is diminished, the hired workman's power is in creased | Darwin Or. of Sp. [Ess. 1.55] the more diver sified the descendants from any one species become ir structure, by so much will they be better enabled t seize on many places in the polity of nature || Spence F 34 In proportion as the listener ... becomes an ac tive interpreter, in that proportion does he lose, th kind of consciousness which it is the purpose of th art to produce | Gissing R 167 the more interesting, s much the more provocative of wonder | Di Do 236 A the lark rose higher, he [Mr. C.] sank deeper in thought || More U 173 howe farre a thing is dissonaunt ..., s farre shall yt be owte of theyr beleffe | Ch F 1462 An she gan wepen ever lenger the more | Roosevelt A 30 the wider the limits of selection, the keener the rivalry and the more rigid the selection, just so much greate will be the progress | BJo 3.161 but with the fewer a business is carried, it is ever the safer | Osborne 5 the more you read of them you will like them stil

better | Hope Z 182 we were the more free inasmuch as we soon learned that he was rather a weak man than a wicked.

21.7₇. (3) Under condition we must further reckon those cases of indifference in which two (or more) alternatives are enumerated and the main sentence is valid in both (or all) cases.

The typical conjunction is the same as in disjunctive dependent questions, *whether*, followed, e. g., by *or no, or not, or whether:* Whether you like it or no, I shall go | Whether he is right or wrong, we must stick up for him | Behn 332 he now found, whether she were guilty or not, it was his turn to beg pardon | Stevenson V 6 whether she marry ill or well, she can hardly miss some benefit.

Cf. with incomplete clause: Swift 3.260 our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots | Kingsley H 297 a cloud, whether of disgust or of disappointment, hung upon every brow.

Whether ... or sometimes is simply the equivalent of *both ... and;* or, after a negative, of *neither ... nor:* Mi PL 5.14 [Adam] beheld Beautie, which whether waking or asleep, Shot forth peculiar graces | Ruskin P 3.115 she had a sweet voice, whether in reading or singing | Ward F 80 he would owe no man anything, whether money or favour | Stevenson D 162 he could find no words, whether of protest or welcome.

21.7₈. In the second member *or that* may be used: Defoe R 2.96 whether it was by neglicence, or that they thought ... | Swift J 362 I cannot be of his opinion, whether my reasons are better, or that my fears are greater | Sterne M 1.243 Now whether the compression shortened my uncle Toby's face into a more pleasurable oval—or that the philanthropy of his heart ... had braced up his muscles.

Cf. without a conjunction (21.6) Sh Tw I. 5.163 hee'l speake with you, will you or no.

Parallel instances occur with the 'indefinite relative pronouns' in *-ever*, obsolete *-so*, *-soever:* You mustn't open the door, whoever calls | Whatever he orders, you must obey him | Whichever way he goes, you must follow him | Sh Mcb IV. 1.47 Open, lockes, whoeuer knockes | John V. 5.19 who euer spoke it, it is true || I shall go into the house, however dangerous it may be.

This often is approximately = 'though'.

Comparison + Condition.

(2 + 4 A).

21.7ϑ. (4) *As if* and *as though* express the same idea: a comparison with a hypothetical state or action (*if*) repudiated as unreal (*though*). Other languages have only the expression corresponding to the former (*comme si, als ob, somom*), English alone has *as though*. There is no appreciable difference between the two forms, though *as if* is perhaps more frequent in colloquial speech than *as though*. The latter is at least as old as Ch (C 554), cf. also More U 40, 195, 196, etc. Some recent writers use *as though* either exclusively or much oftener than *as if* (Di, Trollope, Hugh Walpole, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Beatrice Harraden, Anthony Hope); others prefer *as if*. According to Mencken (AL[4] 203) Am., in its spoken form, tends to substitute *as though* for *as if*. Though I have collected examples of both, there is no need to print them here. Sh has *as if*, though it is mentioned neither by Al. Schmidt nor by Franz, see Mcb IV. 3.6 it resounds As if it felt with Scotland | R3 IV. 4.221 You speake as if I had slaine my cosins | Hml V. 1.82 [clown's song] As if I had neuer beene such [Tottel's Misc. has As there had bene none such] | ib 84 [Hamlet himself] as if it were Caine's jaw-bone. —But on the other hand Sh has *as though* three times (see Sh-Lex. s. v. *though* 2).

As though is necessary before another conditional

clause: Di H 10 he looked as though, if he were cut, he would bleed white | Walpole GM 347 I feel as though if we talked about it everything would clear away.

A few more quotations may be given to show the use of both for variety's sake: Bunyan G 33 I felt as if there was nothing else but these from morning to night within me, ... and as though indeed there could be room for nothing else | Di N 757 groping with his hands, as if he were a blind man; and looking often over his shoulder while he hurried away, as though he were followed in imagination or reality by some one | Maugham Pl 2.123 I feel as if I were only now getting to know you. It's as though—oh, I don't know how to express it | Parker R 86 how simply this man had said these things; as if, indeed, they were part of his life; as though it were usual speech with him.

21.710. (a*). *As if* and *as though* may be supplemented by *that*, especially after a long insertion: Shelley L 692 it seems to me as if, hunted by calamity as I have been, that I should never recover any cheerfulness again | Mrs. Browning Poems 538 [I] Went counting all my chains, as if that so They never could fall off | Wells TB 2.65 It was just as though, after all, he had not brought them up and replaced them together, as though that, secretly, they knew better and could smile at him.

(a**). *That* also serves instead of a repetition of *as if* or *as though:* Defoe M 128 as if it had been felony, and that he was going to execution | id G 73 as if ... or that ... | Bosw 2.157 as if it were owing to my own fault, or that I was, perhaps, affecting it from a desire of distinction| By DJ 2.188 As if there were no life beneath the sky Save theirs, and that their life could never die | Wells Cl 489 as though he had somehow mislaid his social ascendancy over me, but that at any moment his butler might find it | Maxwell S 190 It had been as if the talk was merely superficial, and that beneath it there was a communication that he desired

to make but could not | Arden Green Hat 49 To me it looks as though certain things were decreed to happen and that, therefore, they did happen.

As alone was often used with the meaning of *as if:* Sh Ven 323 As they were mad vnto the wood they hie them. Many quotations in Sh-Lex, also with inversion: R2 I. 4.35 As were our England in reuersion his.

In U. S. *like* is very often used = 'as if': Lewis B 136 You act like you were a combination of Queen Victoria and Cleopatra | id MA 37 he acts like I was a worm | Dine B 76 this one somehow didn't act like he was guilty | Hammett Th 52 Do I look like I'm dying?

4 B. Cause, Reason, Motive.

21.81. One statement is closely dependent on the other as showing its necessary cause or the necessary motive for it.

Coordination:

He is very ill; therefore (*or* so) I'll call on him.

A reason is often indicated by a subsequent sentence containing *so* or *such*, etc.: Defoe R 2.58 they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs | ib 72 a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close | Goldsm V 1.135 I could have hugged the good old man in my arms, his benevolence pleased me so | Brontë V 217 I could have cried, so irritated and eager was I to be gone | Di Do 247 Florence hardly heard what Susan said, she was so lost in thought | ib 490 it would have been hard to count them, they were so many | Fox 2.98 one of the sisters might have sat to Fra Angelico, so seraphic was her face | ib 2.52 none who knew him could avoid thinking mildly of him, his whole nature was so gentle and affectionate | Kingsley H 61 he never could abide the sight of a rod, it made his back tingle so | Bennett W 1.236 it had never occurred to him to revolutionise, so accustomed to it was he ||

Di D 591 I have still a latent belief that she must have been Mrs. Crupp's daughter in disguise, we had such an awful time of it with Mary Ann | Darwin L 1.239 Our boat would have made a fine subject for Snyders, such a medley of game it contained | Di D 66 She looked more like a haystack than a lady, she was wrapped up to such a degree || ib 450 I hardly knew what I did, I was burning all over to that extraordinary extent | Galsw D 181 she did not move, her heart beat too furiously.

In such cases *for* may be inserted to indicate the reason more explicitly: I like him (for) he is such a nice fellow.

21.8₂. A reason is often implied in a coordinated sentence with *or* or *or else*, which comes to mean 'because (or 'for') otherwise'. See e. g. Eastw 441 Y'ad best take some crownes in your purse, or else your Eastward Castle will smoake but miserably | Swift J 495 Things must be on another foot, or we are all undone | Keats 2.70 Follow me, child, or else these stones will be thy bier | ib 80 [she] dares not look behind, or all the charm is fled | Bennett A 24 we must go now, or we shall be late for tea | Ward M 192 They must be asked together, or neither will come.

This is frequent with imaginative *would* or *should:* Congreve 141 my lady's quite out of breath: or else you should hear | Di F 41 You are a little idiot, or you wouldn't make such a dolly speech | id B 1.131 he supposed a bee liked to make honey, or he wouldn't do it | Trollope B 322 it is well that it should be so, or men would triumph too easily | Kipling S 286 Stalky didn't dare to look up, or he'd have laughed | Chesterton F 138 there must have been something odd about the man, or he wouldn't have buried himself alive | Galsw F 431 he trusted me or he wouldn't have written | Merriman VG 36 It is important, or I should not have asked it.

21.83. After a negative *or* comes to mean 'because in that case': Di F 227 [is it a love story?] Oh dear no, or I shouldn't be reading it. It's more about money than anything else | Kipling S 271 There wasn't good cover behind the fort, or they'd have been there, too | Galsw MW 241 He's not going off the Down or we'd have seen him | Rose Macaulay P 165 I hadn't, of course, known Clare was there, or I wouldn't have said anything.

21.84. Subordination:
I'm glad you've come.

(a). I'm glad *that* you've come | Lyly C 321 thou wert neuer borne of a woman, that thou thinkest so hardly of women | Sh H4A II. 4.22 thou hast lost much honor, that thou wer't not with me | AV Numb. 23.19 God is not a man that he should lie, neither the sonne of man, that hee should repent | Luke 18.4 I thank thee, that I am not as other men are | Hawthorne S 202 But, partly that she dreaded the secret, ..., and partly that her conscious heart imputed suspicion, ..., and partly that both the minister and she would need ..., for all these reasons, Hester never thought ... | Landor P 22 I am pained to my innermost heart that you are ill | Maugham Pl 2.209 I can't tell you how touched I was that you thought of it.

That chiefly serves to express the psychological reason or motive for a state of mind.

An interesting use is after a question, the clause often giving the motive for asking: Sh Hml III. 4.39 What haue I done, that thou dar'st wag thy tong, In noise so rude against me? | ib V. 1.73 Ha's this fellow no feeling of his businesse, that he sings at graue-making? | Ado I. 1.106 Were you in doubt that you askt her? | Cæs I. 2.218 I, Caska, tell vs what hath chanc'd to day That Cæsar lookes so sad | BJo 1.8 What news with you, that you are here so early | AV

Numb. 22.28 What haue I done vnto thee, that thou hast smitten mee these three times? | Mark 4.41 What maner of man is this, that euen the winde and the sea obey him? (20th c.: Who can this be that even the wind and the water obey him?) | Defoe R 2.75 What have we done to you, that you will kill us? | Tennyson 99 Am I mad, that I should cherish that which bears but bitter fruit? | Di Do 160 Is there anything the matter, that you come here? | id N 464 Am I a sight, that you stand gazing there? | Thack V 14 Have you been quarrelling already with Joseph, that he wants to be off? | Kipling J 1.5 Are there not enough beetles and frogs in the tanks that he must eat Man? | Caine C 179 Who am I that I should despair? | Doyle R 108 What can be the matter that he does not come?

Cf. the use of *to*-infinitive 17.1_5.

21.85. *Not* [without a verb] *that* as a kind of parenthetical content-clause (cf. Negation, p. 54) often amounts to repudiating a possible cause of what precedes = 'not because . . .'. Examples: Wordsworth P 3.364 Not that I slighted books . . . but other passions in me ruled | Priestley F 17 Not that we didn't have our bits of excitements in the Islands, because we did.

A variant is *not but that*, which is now rarer: Goldsm V 1.4 not but that we sometimes had those little rubs | Austen M 249 Not but that she was really pleased; but she was so much more struck with . . . | Ruskin S 117 Not but that it would often be wiser in men to learn things in the womanly sort of way | Carpenter D 13 Not but that I had on the whole good times at school.

Other variants: More U 246 Not for bicause they set lesse stoore by . . . but thatt . . . | Austen S 226 not but what she is exceedingly fond of you.

21.86. *Because* (originally the prep. *bi* (*by*) + the subst. *cause*) as a conjunction is frequent from 14th c. No quotations necessary.

A more or less vulgar shortened form is *'cause:* Sh

Mcb III. 6.21 cause he fayl'd His presence ... I heare Macduffe liues in disgrace | Beaumont 1.94 I'le teach you in a short sentence, cause I will not load your memory | *'cos*, *acause*, Di (q Poutsma).

Rarely *for because:* Sh R2 V. 5.3 And for because the world is populous ... I cannot do it.

What is really a clause tertiary with *because* is sometimes made practically a clause primary (nearly = 'the fact that') as the subject or predicative of the sentence. Some examples of these 'disguised content-clauses' were given in vol. III 2.4_4; one among several found later may be printed here: Wells V 248 The real reason why I am out of place here, is because I like men.

There is no real cause indicated in illiterate sayings like the following: Plunket Greene E 41 I'm not saying that I ever liked Odell very much, because I didn't.

As, originally denoting comparison, is frequent as a conjunction of cause, chiefly to denote an explanation of the main statement:

As he is ill, he can't come | He can't come, as he is ill.

This is said to be never used by Sh.

21.87. After a comparative with *the* we find the reason for the greater amount, etc., expressed with *that*, *as*, or *because:* Di X 219 it mattered the less, that it was Tackleton's wedding-day | Thack P 125 He made the sacrifice, and it was the greater that few knew the extent of it | Carlyle FR 24 a New Era is come; the future all the brighter that the past was base | Ruskin S 163 [it is unbelievable] and the more so, that it is wholly founded on Hesiod's account | Galsw C 195 they respected him the more that he was their Rector || Carlyle SR 143 the rather as he was no Adamite || Lucas Rose and Rose 155 a consuming longing—which was not the less because each had to hide it from the other.

21.88. (c). *Since*, originally a preposition, is very frequently used as a conjunction, not only of time, (see

21.2₄), but also of cause (NED from 15th c.): Sh Err III. 1.120 Since mine owne doores refuse to entertaine me, Ile knocke else-where, to see if they'll disdaine me | since you wish it, I shall go.

Since may indicate an inference from the effect to the cause: "it must have rained, since the ground is wet". Here *because* could not be used; cf. on the other hand: "the ground is wet because it has rained".

For is now generally considered a coordinating conjunction, and this is in so far correct as the *for*-clause is always (like the corresponding Dan. *for*, *ti*, G *denn*, F *car*, etc.) placed after the main nexus; intonation also generally indicates coordination (He can't ˌcome, for he is ˌill), but that test is not infallible. Historically, however, *for* was a subordinating conjunction, as shown (1) by the possibility of pre-position, and (2) by the frequency of *for that* (see 21.8₉): Malory 696 And for she had no cofer to kepe hit in, she put it in the erthe | Dekker Sh IV. 1.11 And for she thinkes me wanton, she denies To cheare my cold heart | Sh Mids IV. 1.187 And for the morning now is something worne, Our purpos'd hunting shall be set aside (cf. Lr I. 1.227 If for I want that glib and oylie art ...). Still poetically in the 19th c.: Shelley 463 And, for the harbours are not safe and good, This land would have remained a solitude, but for some pastoral people | NED quotes Tennyson Gareth & Lyn. 386.

21.8₉. (a*). *Because that:* this combination, which is easily comprehensible from the origin of *because*, was formerly frequent and is still used more or less vulgarly: Sh R3 III. 1.130 Because that I am little, like an ape, He thinkes that you should beare me on your shoulders | Sterne M 1.214 because that God pleases to have it so | frequent in Kinglake E, e. g. 28 he could not have felt the less deserted, because that I was with him.

That is motivated by the insertion in Cambridge Trifles 185 it's not because, of course, that I mind

people staring at me | Belloc in NP 1922 He was not so proud of that, because, he said, that some fool had imported it into the United States.

(c*). Sh Err II. 1.114 *Since that* my beautie cannot please his eie, Ile weepe (what's left away) and weeping die.

For that (cf. OE *for þæm þe*): Sh Merch I. 3.43 I hate him for he is a Christian, But more, for that in low simplicitie He lends out money gratis—and many other quotations given in vol. III 2.2$_5$.

In that (ib 2.2$_4$) sometimes has virtually the meaning 'because', e. g. Sh Shr IV. 3.83 I loue thee well in that thou lik'st it not.

(a** and c**). Conjunctions repeated by *that:* Massinger N I. 2.152 from one man I warn'd you ... Not cause hee's poore, that rather claimes your pitty, But that hee's in his manners so debauch'd | Defoe R 2.74 as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they ow'd their preservation | id M 3 as my case came to be known, and that I was too young to do any work ... compassion moved the magistrates | Franklin 64 they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily.

Sterne 32 As the truest friendship subsisted between the two brothers, and that my father thought ... | Swift J 331 since these Ministers are sick and out of town, and that I don't dine with them | ib 333 because ... or that ... or that ... | Defoe M 34 since there had been such a clamour among them, and that her younger son talked ... she desired I would be so faithful.

21.8$_{10}$. (f). A preposition + regimen is at the base of *because*, see above. Other rarer combinations are More U 171 *by reason* they haue longe vsed thys trade, nowe they haue ... (also ib 286) | Spectator 5 he keeps himself a batchelour by reason he was crossed in love | Defoe R 2.17 which at present, by reason it was dark,

I could not see || Massinger N IV. 3.140 *In respect* he comes disguis'd | Sh As below (f*) | GE Life 1.221 In respect my life is at Geneva, I like it very well, but in respect it is not with you, it is a very vile life || Bacon A 19.29 the Americans, with whom, of all others, *in regard* they lay nearest to us, wee had most commerce | Mi PL III Argum.: yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice.

The curious *for why* = 'because' is found in Gammer 142 and a few times in Sh, e. g. Gent III. 1.98 If she doe chide, 'tis not to have you gone, For why the fooles are mad, if left alone.

(f*). Sh As III. 2.14 *in respect that* it is a shepheards life, it is naught (thus also ib 16, but 17 in respect it is in the fields, it pleaseth mee well; but in respect it is not in the Court, it is tedious) | Bacon A 11.17 in respect that land was so remote.

21.8₁₁. (g). Sh H4A V. 4.33 *seeing* thou fall'st on me so luckily, I will assay thee | Cronin C 137 Probably won't let us in, seeing I haven't got on a fish-and-soup.

While here the clause is the object of the first participle, it is the subject of *being* (ptc. + S a nexus-tertiary), see 6.3_5.

(g*). Sh Cæs II. 2.35 It seemes to me most strange that men should feare, *Seeing that* death, a necessary end Will come, when it will come | Ado IV. 1.251 *Being that* I flow in greefe, The smallest twine lead me (*being* and *being that* now †).

21.8₁₂. It will be noticed that the cause of or reason for a main statement may be placed either before or after it. The former position is very frequent with *as* and *since*, not so frequent with *because;* all three conjunctions are found in clauses placed last: here the statement of cause tends to be less intimately connected with the main fact and thus to be coordinated rather than subordinated, as particularly evident in the PE as opposed to the earlier use of *for*. Fowler (MEU *as* 2)

condemns the post-posed *as*-clause "except when the fact adduced is one necessarily known to the hearer or reader and present to his mind", e. g. "The sketch of Milton's life is inserted in this volume as it illustrates some points that occur in the Sonnets".

21.9₁. Two subdivisions in clauses concerning cause and effect:

(1) A result is often indicated by a clause with *that* after *so* or *such:*

She is deaf, so that she cannot have heard us | She is so deaf that she cannot have heard us | They were so drunk that they could hardly speak | Their condition was such that they could hardly speak | Sh Ven 1101 the birds such pleasure tooke, That some would sing.

Such clauses are sometimes termed clauses of degree (but the degree is indicated in the main statement, not in the clause) or, more often clauses of result, but they should be ranged in this chapter of cause and effect, their characteristic trait being that the cause is placed in the main statement and not in the clause. Compare the sentences:

She is deaf, so that she cannot have heard us.
She is so deaf that she cannot have heard us.
As she is deaf she cannot have heard us.

21.9₂. *So as* (*such as*) was formerly pretty frequent instead of the received *so that* (*such that*); nowadays it is considered vg, though Palmer Gr § 354 places the two expressions on the same footing. Examples: Marlowe 655 ile marshall so your enemies, As England shall be quiet | Bacon A frequent, e. g. 12.7, 8 | Rehearsal 33 mine [my part] is such a one, as I can't ghess for my life what humour I'm to be in | Swift 3.167 with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force | Defoe R 115 not enough to run in any stream, so as it could be perceiv'd (frequent in Defoe) | ib 2.213

I gave him such instructions as he could not miss the place | Walton A 51 so ... as (also ib 238).

Also *so* (or *such*) *as that:* Spenser FQ V. 1 Such oddes I find ... As that ... me seemes the world is runne quite out of square | Milton A 33 I cannot set so light by the invention ... as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities | Defoe M 147 somebody heard of it, so as that we had the bells set a-ringing | id R 60 I at last got so near, as that, reaching the ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in | Cowper L 2.100 ... so conducted ourselves ... as that you shall have ... | Boswell 1.434 he should wish to do it not in rags, not so as that he shall only be exposed to ridicule | Austen P 116 conversation ought to be so arranged as that they may have the trouble of saying as little as possible | Ruskin P 2.256 wine ... such as that never Falstaff tasted cup of brighter or mightier | Di D 687 but I so arranged it, as that I should meet Ham first.

We also find the clause after *so* without any conjunction, especially in U. S., e. g. Landor P 267 I write now, because I am so wounded I can do nothing else | Wells Blw 46 Her hands trembled so much she could not do it [replace a brooch] | Waugh BM 150 I'm so tired I could die | Maugham Alt 14 I put her downstairs so she shouldn't be in the way | Hemingway FA 200 I drew up my feet so they were against the side of the timber (also ib 231, 232).

After a negative expression *but* or *but that* is used in the same sense as *that:* Fulg 44 I am not such a coward But I dare mete the.

Many later examples Negation p. 133 f.

21.9₃. (2). The reason for an action may be not only something belonging to the past or the present but a wish with regard to the future. This is dealt with in the second sub-division of clauses of cause, viz. prospective clauses giving the motive of the action expressed in the main nexus: clauses of purpose or intention, final

clauses. They correspond to the infinitive or purpose, just as the first sub-class corresponds to the infinitive of reaction.

(a). (N.B. Here *that* cannot be left out) Sh Merch IV. 1.368 That thou shalt see the difference of our spirits, I pardon thee thy life | Err V. 1.40 Let vs come in, that we may binde him fast | Hml III. 1.131 Let the doores be shut vpon him, that he may play the fool no way | AV Mat 2.8 bring me word againe that I may come and worship him also.

The purpose is often indicated more expressly by some addition to *that:*

So that: Maugham Pl 2.214 and so that I shouldn't forget it, I made a knot in my handkerchief; *in order that:* He raised his hand in order that the bus might stop; formerly *to the intent:* More U 159 to thintent the sycke, be they neuer so many in numbre, should not lye to thronge or strayte.

Rarely *to the end that:* Lewis MA 241 to the end that infuriated elderly travelling salesmen were backslapped. (Cf. Fr. *afin que*).

21.94. *So as* is sometimes (not always in vulgar speech) used to imply a purpose = 'in order that': Crofts St 236 The Chief said you would give me the details so as I could get ahead with it to-day | Waugh BM 55 [educated youth:] Why should I be made to look a fool just so as he can impress the Bishop.

Because was in former times used = 'in order that': Roister 41 Een of very pitie he is willyng you to take, Bicause ye shall not destroy your selfe for his sake | North 250 and because they should receiue no damage by his will, he remoued his camp.—Later examples in Franz Sh-Gr 457.

21.95. *Lest* (from OE (*þy*) *læs þe*), formerly often spelt *least*, is the negative counterpart of (*in order*) *that*; it is followed by a simple indicative or subjunctive, or *may*, *might* or *should*. Examples: Sh Sonn 140 Be wise . . .

Least sorrow lend me words | Wint II. 2.51 | AV Gen. 3.3 Ye shal not eate of it, lest ye die | Mark 13.35 Watch ye therefore ... lest comming suddenly, he finde you sleeping | Bunyan P 64 lest perhaps he should ... | Shelley 486 And keep thy heart light lest it make thee sink | Austen S 149 Elinor thought it wisest to make no answer, lest they might provoke each other | Brontë W 194 I bid her be cautious lest she got a fall | GE M 2.104 Stand farther from me, lest I should lay hands on you | Kennedy CN 127 afraid to look at her lest she might read his purpose in his eyes | ib 131 he dared not touch her lest she should turn on him | Kipling Recessional: Lest we forget | Dine B 92 Then, lest the public wouldn't see the point, he wrote explanat'ry letters to the press.

Lest is sometimes used = *in case* (above 21.5_{10}): Crofts Ch 61 He slipped the man a couple of shillings lest his good offices should be required in the future | Barrie T 286 we preserve any old board lest the worms have made it artistic.

(a*). More U 49 they must be fayne to seke for warre ... leaste that their handes should waxe dull | Sh Err I. 2.2 giue out you are of Epidamium, Lest that your goods too soone be confiscate.

(a**). *Lest* repeated by *that:* Defoe M 159 I should have been still in a fright, lest I should meet him on the road again, and that he should know me.

21.9ε. *For fear* († *for dread*) in the same sense as *lest*: BJo A 4.548 This way: for feare the lord should meet you | Swift J 15 Here must I begin another letter, for fear saucy little MD should be angry (and ib 29) | Fielding T 4.21 one must not amuse one's self by any gallantries with women, for fear they should fall in love with us | Quincey 324 for fear any man should creep in ... she locked her old friends in | Di N 305 Now, for fear you should be writing to Mr. Noggs, we have thought it best to let you into the secret | ib 308 they

were obliged to drive very fast, for fear they should be too late || Malory 695 entre in to the other [ship] for drede ye falle in dedely synne | Towneley 34 therfor will I hy ffor drede that I drone here.

21.9₇. To sum up what has been said on 4 B with 4 B 1 and 4 B 2: we have the following main types of expressions for causal relations.

The cause may be given (1) in a clause with *because*, *as*, or *since;* then the result is given in the main part of the sentence, or (2) inversely in the main statement —then the result is given in a clause, either with *so that* (effected result), or with *in order that* (intended result).

21.9₈. An inference may be drawn (a) from cause to effect: As (or since) it has rained (fact) the ground must be wet | The ground must be wet, for (or because) it has rained | As she is very deaf she cannot have heard us | As we shouted very loud she must have heard us | We shouted so loud that she must have heard us | We spoke so low that she cannot have heard us.

If it has rained (hypothesis) the ground must be wet.

Note the difference between *must* and *cannot*.

(b) from effect to cause: As (or since) the ground is wet (fact) it must have rained | As (or since) the ground is dry it cannot have rained. Here also *for* and *because* can be used, but only if the inference is named before the cause.

If the ground is wet (hypothesis) it must have rained.

Chapter XXII.

Implied Dependent Nexus.

A dependent nexus is implied (not directly denoted) by

(1) agent-nouns,

(2) participles,

(3) certain adjectives which in meaning resemble participles.

The syntactic formula common to all this is Y.

Cf. for OE Karl Kärre, *Nomina agentis in Old English.* Uppsala diss. 1915.

Agent-nouns, Substantives and Adjectives.

22.1₁. Agent-substantives are formed from the verbal base without any suffix: *cheat, help;* cp. *chimney-sweep, catch-penny, go-between;*

most often from the verb by the suffix [-ə] *-er, -or, -ar: borrower, possessor, beggar;*

more rarely by other suffixes: *-en: warden, -ant: servant, -ent: student, -ee: lessee, -eer: pamphleteer, -ist: cop(y)ist, -ster: dempster.*

See on all these Morphology.

22.1₂. With regard to the syntax of agent-nouns we note that the object of the verbal notion it contains may be expressed by a genitive (possessive pronoun); formula S^2Y:

Sh Ado V. 1.272 If you would know your wronger, looke on me | Tennyson 563 the brutes are not your wrongers | Keats 214 my dispossessor | Stevenson B 113 the woods lie thick with our ill-willers | our well-wishers.

Or it may be expressed by an *of*-phrase; formula YpO:

Roister 37 a bringer of tidings and tokens to towne | Tennyson 565 the Bringer home of all good things | Stevenson JH 23 both thorough respecters of themselves and of each other.—Note especially BJo (q NED *letter*) A letter-go of money | Markham 1675 (q ib) letter-loose of the Grey-hounds || Ramsay Christ's Kirk: the latter gae of haly rhime.

More rarely with other prepositions: Macaulay E 1.26 those modern beggars for fame.

Or the object may be denoted by the first-word of a compound; formula O-Y: Defoe P 41 fortunetellers

| Hamerton F 2.14 there are great numbers of half-bottle drinkers at each meal | Zangwill G 238 oilstrikers | Tennyson L 3.148 Stanley, the Livingstone finder | Shaw M xxv lodging-letter.

In some cases the compound denotes a relation ordinarily denoted by a prepositional phrase: Caine M 384 a sleep-walker = one who walks in his sleep | Rose Macaulay T 102 a popular diner-out and dance-goer = one who goes to dances | rope-dancer.

Very rarely the object is indicated by a postposed noun without any preposition: a letter-blood (letere blood)—NED *letter*[2] b | Ade A 65 I'll never speak to him again. "You won't be loser anything at that."

22.13. What with a verb would be a tertiary (subjunct) becomes a secondary (adjunct) with an agent-substantive. Many examples were given in vol. II 12.21 ff.: early riser, hard student, light sleeper, probable winner, total abstainer (shifted subjunct-adjuncts, formula 2(3)Y).

22.14. But this shifting is excluded when an adverb forms a necessary complement of the verb. Hence we have such compounds as the familiar *onlooker* (NED from 1606), Hope Ch 88 to be the onlooked rather than the onlookers.

A rarer word-order is seen in *go-alonger* (Muret, Brynildsen, not NED and Suppl.), *come-outer* (U. S., e. g. Lowell 331 Is half upright Quaker, half downright Comeouter | Holmes A 134 some of those Come-outers, down East | Hawthorne 1.331 come-outers | Matthews A 289 his own cotery of come-outers), *the "stand-patters"* (U. S., e. g. Outlook 22.5.1909 p. 145) 'supporters of the party (chiefly the Republican) through thick and thin'.

But the most usual expression is with a substantive in *-er* followed by the adverb; formula Y-3:

Ch D 1196 povert is ... a ful greet bringer out of bisinesse | ib 1284 A somnour is a renner up and doun With mandements | Roister 37 a runner vp and downe

| More U 270 a rayser vp of dissention | Ascham T 31 the first finders out of shoting | Sh H6C III. 3.157 Proud setter vp and puller downe of kings | Sh R3 I. 3.210 you were standers by | Wint II. 1.141 by some putter on | ib V. 1.29 incertaine lookers on | R2 II. 2.70 a keeper back of death | Swift P 103 she's a very great gadder abroad | Keats 210 my own sad breast Which is my own great judge and searcher out | Lamb E 2.179 sitters up a-nights | Byron DJ 16.82 A brilliant dinner-out (also Thack P 2.241 and Rose Macaulay T 102) | Tennyson L 3.88 I am neither a diner-out, nor a speaker after dinner | Carlyle H 123 a bringer-back of men to reality | Kingsley H 194 the faces of the passers-out | McCarthy 2.414 the latest lingerer outside | Tennyson 565 Hesper, whom the poet call'd the Bringer home of all good things | Browning 1.412 [jocularly] let me and you be wipers of scores out with all men.

Cf. vol. II 2.51 and Morphology sub *-er*.

Cf. with a prepositional phrase: Phillpotts M 26 an abstainer from alcohol.

22.1₅. Agent-adjectives are most of them formed by means of Latin (or Romanic) suffixes like *-ant* or *-ent*, *-ive*, *-ous*. They in some respects resemble first participles, but differ from them in not being capable of taking a direct object without a preposition, except it be a clause, see vol. III 2.7, or an infinitive, see above 13.6_2. Generally they require a preposition before their object, in most cases *of:*

Desirous of praise | indicative, suggestive, expressive of contempt | tolerant of vice | ignorant of Chinese | impatient of noise | jealous, suspicious of him | Galsw FS 646 These events were so subversive of pure Forsyteism | Carlyle H 131 Luther's face is to me expressive of him | Ward M 341 the thin hand—eloquent at once of character and of physical weakness | Di D 781 she was steadily observant of me | 882 as I looked at

her beautiful face, observant of her words | Page J 123 you must not be so critical of your aunt.

Oblivious takes sometimes *of*, but often *to:* Caine P 273 oblivious to all surroundings | London V 183 she seemed oblivious to her husband (also Dreiser AT 1.145). Without preposition before a content clause, cf. vol. III 2: NP 1938 Galsworthy was oblivious how closely his humanitarianism bordered on sentimentality.

Attentive to (on's business).

Covetous in Sh has both *of* (of praise Tro II. 3.248) and *for* (for gold H5 IV. 3.24).

Semblative in the only passage in which it is found in Sh takes the direct object like the synonymous *resembling:* Tw I. 4.34 And all is semblatiue a womans part.

22.16. With these may be compared the native formations *fearful, mindful, regardless* and similar adjectives, which take an object with *of:* regardless of consequences, etc. Thus also generally *afraid of.*

But *fearful* now most often has a passive sense = 'terrible'.

Note *tell-tale of:* Galsw NP 1915: his expression, as a rule so tell-tale of his emotions.

22.17. Some adjectives in *-ble* which have a passive sense may be combined with *by* before what would be the subject in an active sentence:

Defoe M 240 it is a thing unintelligible but by those who have experienced it | Fielding 8.416 Ryde was inaccessable by friend or foe | Quincey 100 What burden is that which only is insupportable by human fortitude? | Ewing Story of Short Life 42 the neighbourhood had been intolerable by them for some time to come | Gissing G 6 her voice was seldom audible save by the person addressed | Rose Macaulay P 7 [her novels] were pleasant to many, readable by more | Murry Style 1 a meaning which shall be ... unmistakable by his audience.

Still such adjectives are more often combined with *to:* mountains inaccessible to tourists, etc.

Participles.

22.2₁. There are two participles in English:

1) the first, always ending in *-ing*, thus formally identical with the gerund; this is generally, but not adequately, termed the active or the present participle;

2) the second, ending in *-(e)d*, *-t*, *-n* with or without vowel-change, or formed without any ending with or without inner change of the verb; this is generally, but likewise inadequately, termed the passive or the perfect participle.

Both participles are combined in the perfect participle = first + second participle: *having seen*, etc., see vol. IV 7.7, and in the passive *being seen*, etc.

A participle as an adjunct is generally preposed: *A living dog is better than a dead lion.* But it is placed after its primary in combinations like *the greatest scholar living.*

First Participle.

22.2₂. A participle may have an object: Seeing this he ran away | They looked so gay and enjoying themselves (q Poutsma).

Thus with a postposed participle: a young man writing novels | an old woman wearing horn-rimmed spectacles and giving everybody a kind nod.

Note the different word-order: in the following years | in the years following the war. Thus also with *preceding.*

In rare cases we find negative participles (*un-*) with object: Burns 1.143 And resolutely keeps its laws, Uncaring consequences.

22.2₃. If the object is short and of a general character it may be placed before the participle as first part of a compound: a French-speaking lady | life-preserving

apparatus | [Sh ?] E3 II. 1.282 a honey-gathering bee | Mi PL 10.591 all-conquering Death | Carlyle P 95 in certain money-making, game-preserving centuries | Di D 656 my heart-rending situation | Walpole C 70 as simple over his plots as a child brick-building in its nursery.

After *go*, etc. this evidently arose from a gerund with dropped *a-* (< *on*): Fox 2.68 He went about sight-seeing with them | Maugham Pl 4.86 He wanted to go big game shooting | Mannin ChE 237 She went house-hunting with Harold on Saturday afternoons | Locke FS 92 when he had gone fortune-hunting in America | Mackenzie C 77 If any daughter of yours goes play-acting | Kipling L 196 he is off love-making somewhere.

22.2₄. Examples of participles with preposed tertiaries (the ever running year, etc.) were given in vol. II 14.38; cf. also frequent combinations like *outgoing post, outstanding events, far-reaching consequences, slow-moving affairs, thorough-going research.*

On *passing fair*, etc., see vol. II 15.28.

22.2₅. A participle often takes a predicative: he came home feeling glad.

It may be combined with a preceding predicative—2(PY): Fielding T 3.193 people who appear only to be merry-making | Christie 3A 99 a harmless sounding natural thing.

This is extremely frequent with *looking:* an innocent-looking creature. But *good-looking* is not = 'looking good', but rather 'having good looks'. Comparative *better-looking:* Cf. *well-looking* ('with healthy looks') and see vol. II 14.38; as stern a looking rogue, vol. II 15.18.

Being as an adjunct does not generally mean 'that is', for then it would be superfluous—what would be the difference between *a woman being pretty* and *a pretty woman?*—but indicates a reason 'because she (etc.) is', e. g. Bennett B 26 But of course, being a German Grand Duke, he is bound to marry | Master-

man WL 41 I thought you would know, being a friend of the family | Linklater J 110 The driver shrugged his shoulders, not being interested | Ferguson in BDS 388 Very likely he does, being a man.

Though we say "The house that is being built", *being built* cannot be used as adjunct to house: *The house being built* would be a nexus tertiary in which *being built* = *having been built.*

Note *for the time being*, which always refers to some definite part of the past (= *for that time*), and the expanded form in Sh Cymb III. 6.63 I have a kinsman who Is bound for Italy ... To whom being going, almost spent with hunger, I am fall'n in this offence.

22.2₆. A participle is very often placed as appositum, generally to the subject. In cases like *he sat smoking* it approaches the "expanded" use, on which see vol. IV ch. XII and below 22.3_7. But often parataxis *sat and* with a finite verb gives the same sense. Both constructions are combined in Di D 9 Mr. Chillip could do nothing after this, but sit and look at her feebly, as she sat and looked at the fire. But he sat and looked at her, notwithstanding, for nearly two hours, as she sat looking at the fire.

On the historical relation between the two synonymous constructions "he sat (stood, lay) smoking" and "he sat (stood, lay) and smoked" see a very full article by W. van der Gaaf in ESts 16.79 ff., June 1934. He quotes also examples like Tennyson: the old year lies a-dying,—but does not think the *a—ing* construction has had much to do with the origin of the participial construction.

Such an appositional participle is most often placed in the beginning of the sentence:

By DJ 1.117 A little still she strove, and much repented, And whispering "I will ne'er consent"—consented | Bennett D 55 Saying no word aloud, but quietly whispering wicked expletives, he searched everywhere in vain | ib 169 Not having heard from your Highness,

and not knowing your Highness's address, I concluded ....

Note the two different positions in Wordsw P 4.177 Thus musing, in a wood I sate me down Alone, continuing there to muse.

Having seen, placed in the beginning of the sentence generally denotes time, but it indicates a cause or reason when placed at the end as in Myers M 81 I recognised this frame of mind of Jermingham's, having seen it a hundred times.

Alph. Smith in "Studies in E. Synt." 56 calls attention to the use in "He entered college at the age of fifteen, graduating four years later at the head of his class", in which the participle simply continues the relation.

Participles are used after such conjunctions as *when* and *while:* when (while) fighting in France he was taken prisoner (= when, while he was fighting ...), cp. when tired, I lie down | while occupied in this way I was interrupted.

This should be strictly separated from the use of an ing after a preposition: before, in, on, after, since starting, in which the ing is necessarily a gerund.

Loose Participle.

22.27. Through a loose construction a participle is often, particularly in the beginning of a sentence, used without having a word to which it stands in apposition. This is generally blamed as slipshod language by grammarians, who term it unrelated, unattached or wrongly attached, or dangling participle, but is found even in some accurate writers. In some cases the participle relates to the *I* implied in *my*, etc. (Abbott Sh-Gr § 264, 218).

A selection of the examples I have collected: Marlowe F 302 But leauing these vaine trifles of mens soules,

Tell me what is that Lucifer thy Lord? | Sh Cymb III. 6.91 Discourse is heauy, fasting | Gent V. 2.40 [he] guess'd that it was she, But, being mask'd [she being m.], he was not sure of it | Mi PL 5.89 Wondering at my flight and change To this high exaltation, suddenly My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down | Defoe R 40 when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly advice | id M 15 Then he walked about the room, and taking me by the hand, I walked with him | Fielding 5.460 Having now abandoned all thoughts of returning to Oxford, the next thing which offered itself was a journey to London | Goldsm V 1.11 I wrote ... and having got it copied fair, with an elegant frame, it was placed over the chimney-piece | ib 2.125 Having [= I having] communicated my wishes to my wife, the next morning the poor girl entered my apartment | Goldsm 176 and knocking at the door, a voice from within demanded, "Who's there?" [similarly often in Goldsm] | Franklin 29 However, walking [= as I walked] in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by | Bosw 1.303 Having left daughters only, the property was sold | Keats 4.153 and having gained it [a crag] there came on a mist | Shelley P 271 Descending [= when you descend] from the Capitol to the Forum, is the triumphal arch of Septimus Severus | Scott OM 113 Looking up the river, the character of the scene was varied | By DJ 5.51 And knocking at the gate, 'twas open'd wide | Lamb E 2.viii Discoursing with him latterly on this subject, he expressed himself with a pettishness | Austen M 174 wanting to be alone with his family, the presence of a stranger ... must have been irksome | ib 361 having [= when she had] introduced him, and being [= when they were] all seated, the terrors ... were overpowering | Brontë V 412 having once seized the thread, it had guided him through a long labyrinth | Di P 390 he felt himself gently touched on the shoulder; and looking

round, his father stood before him | Macaulay L 2.291 In the Library, taking up, by the merest chance, a finely bound book, it proved to be Ticknor's | Rossetti 90 Yet, Jenny, looking [= when I look] long at you, The woman almost fades from view | Mrs. Carlyle in F 2.371 Coming in about five, there are the letters | Ru S 56 not being able to do that, your ideal of life is to stand in the thoroughfares | id P 2.88 a month was spent at home, considering what was to be done next | Doyle S 6.195 knowing as much as you do, the situation is very easily explained | Stevenson MB 305 Meeting some friends and singing with them in a palace near the Hague, his pen fails him to express his passion of delight | Huxley L 1.90 it rained hard coming back | Butler W 385 Looking out of the window, there were the flower beds in the front garden | Shaw 1.159 Looking up the hill, the cottage is seen in a left hand corner of the garden | Galsw FCh 32 But, lying in my bed, everything seemed so difficult | Walpole Cp 395 Listening, the noise of the sea was now so violent that ....

22.2s. The following loose participles are perfectly established in the language: Austen M 177 we shall be meeting again in the same sort of way, *allowing for* the difference of ... | Keats 4.153 *Talking of* chasms they are the finest wonder of the whole [this is very frequent] | Kipling L 82 Talking of war, there'll be trouble in the Balkans in the spring | Di Do 227 *Speaking of* daughters, I have seen Miss Dombey | Collins M 141 [the letter] must have been a mortal long one, *judging by* the time she stopped upstairs over it [common phrase] | Di F 879 Judging from the fallen countenance of Silas, he did understand | *saving* your reverence (e. g. Sh Merch II. 2.27, 139) | Galsw Sw 241 That's the worst of women—saving your presence—they're not content with their own | Di Do 247 *begging your pardon* | *strictly speaking* | *generally speaking* | Di D 145 there were three or four of us, *counting* me | ib 177 there's

the cottage, *taking* one time with another, will produce say seventy pounds a year (also id Do 63).

Cf. *going on, getting on* 22.3_1.

Note *considering* without an object = 'considering all circumstances': Di Do 87 "Thank you, sir, I am pretty well, considering". Mrs. Pipchin always used that form of words. It meant, considering her virtues, sacrifices, and so forth | Galsw FM 198 That's very good of you, considering | Swinburne L 79 I do not wonder at Lady M's liking for him, considering.

22.2₉. A loose participle sometimes approaches the value of a preposition. This use is with possibly doubtful justice ascribed to French influence by Ross, The Absolute Participle, 30. Examples: Ch B 4161 *as touching* daun Catoun | More U 64 Now as touchyng this question ... But *as concernyng* this matter ... | Caxton R 11 *touchyng* this complaint | Hawthorne S 247 I am utterly bewildered as touching the purport of your words | Caxton R 54 alle were there *sauyng* reynard | Gay BP 40 ... a Jew; and *bating* their religion, to women they are a good sort of people | Hawthorne Sn 51 *barring* the casualties to which such a complicated piece of mechanism is liable | Quincey 116 one may bivouack decently, *barring* rain and wind, up to the end of October | Scott I 31 incapable of being removed, *excepting* by the use of the file | Di Do 239 Edith, *saving* for a curl of her lip, was motionless | Dreiser F 292 what chance would he have, *presuming* her faithfulness itself | Defoe R 2.190 his discourse was prettily deliver'd, *considering* his youth | Hope D 77 Considering his age, your conduct is scandalous | Thack N 5 there may be nothing new under and *including* the sun.

Cf. also *regarding, respecting* (e. g. Ruskin S 1.291) | *according to* (Caxton R 57, etc.) | *owing to* | *granting* (Stevenson JHF 103 even granting some impediments, why was this gentleman to be received by me in secret?).

Cf. *pending, during, notwithstanding* 6.3_4.

On the transition of *seeing, granting, supposing, notwithstanding* with or without *that* to use as conjunctions, see ch. XXI; on *being* see above 6.3_5.

22.3₁. I place here some idiomatic employments of the first participle.

Stevenson M 265 I must be *up and doing*. Five years *running* [i. e. without interruption]: Goldsm V 1.13 I threw deuce ace five times running | Collins M 323 The Indians have been defeated twice running | *rising* [of horses, etc., approaching such and such an age]: Mitford OV 77 she [dog] is five years old this grass, rising six | Quiller Couch M 133 their ages—Annet nine, Linnet seven, and Henry rising five | Benson DB 295 David, as is the way of boys rising seventeen, had been growing tremendously | *going* (or *getting*) *on* [approaching]: Di D 218 I have been with him going on four years | Ferber S 245 She's nineteen going on twenty | Sayers NT 215 I have been in his lordship's service now for going on fifteen years | Beresford in BDS 257 We've been married getting on for twenty years now.

In time coming was corrected as a Scotticism into *hereafter* by Bosworth (see I preface 33).

On *burning hot*, etc., see vol. II 15.21.

In such idiomatic expressions as Galsw FS 530 It must be she playing | Kennedy R 217 Was that you knocking?—the participle might with some justice be taken to refer to *it* and *that*.

In the familiar "There was nothing doing" (e. g. Christie Cards 256) *doing* is probably at first a gerund in a passive sense.

22.3₂. A first participle is often used in a nexus-object (cf. ch. III). Here it has nearly the same function as an infinitive in a nexus (ch. XVIII). The difference between

I saw him run—and

I saw him running

is generally speaking the same as between the simple

and the expanded preterit: *he ran* | *he was running*. The former = 'he ran, and I saw it', the latter = 'he was running when I saw him'. The latter therefore is more descriptive while the former simply states a fact.

The symbolic formula for *I saw him running* would be S V O(12(Y)) if the participle is considered as an adjunct to *him;* if *him running* is taken as a nexus-object with a participle, the formula is S V $O(S_2P(Y))$; and finally, if *running* is taken as a gerund (ch. IX), the formula is S V $O(S_2G)$: all three analyses are theoretically possible.

22.3₃. Examples of this:

Sh Cæs III. 1.196 Shall it not greeue thee deerer then thy death, To *see* thy Antony making his peace, Shaking the bloody fingers of thy foes? | Bunyan G 12 as if I had seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me | Brontë W 244 I've seen her sitting crying on the stairs' top | Di D 128 I got up whenever I saw him coming | Galsw Ca 269 Coming back one evening from my tramp, I saw some boys stoning a mealy-coloured dog | Mackenzie C 9 she for one was glad in these days of neglected duties to see a mother nursing her own child | Maxwell EG 97 Oh, I've known it was coming, miss. I've seen it coming.

In the example from Dickens, after *whenever*, it seems impossible to substitute the infinitive; *as soon as I saw him coming* is said more often than ... *come*. We say "We saw the sun rise", but probably always "We saw the sun rising behind the trees"; in the same way with a descriptive addition.

Sh Hml III. 1.55 I *heare* him comming | Collins W 89 she did not hear me coming until I had stepped over the stile | Stevenson T 109 "Jim, Jim!" I heard him shouting | Galsw IC 92 he could hear a piano being played.

Other verbs of perception:

Galsw SS 292 Michael *watched* Fleur growing paler,

her smile more nervous | id Ca 740 His shrewd eyes *noted* her lips quivering | Swift 3.177 then all on a sudden *felt* myself falling perpendicularly down for above a minute | Hope Z 61 I felt my nerve returning and the agitated beating of my heart subsiding | Maxwell EG 75 she felt the blood rising to give deep colour to her own cheeks | Austen P 231 As she spoke, she *observed* him looking at her earnestly.

Examples of the corresponding passive construction: Galsw Ca 462 he had been heard on Sunday night shouting out that his wife had robbed him | id FS 547 Nicholas was heard saying gently that ... | he was found (discovered) reading a French paper.

22.3₄. Both constructions—with infinitive and participle—are sometimes found together: Defoe P 138 I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window | Sheridan 357 I hear a door open, and some one coming | Poe 340 I have felt it approaching—yet not quite be mine—and so at length entirely depart! | Galsw SS 273 She ... saw him [the judge] rise and go out, and the jury getting up | Bennett P 306 He heard Carthew leave. He heard Dr. Veiga arrive, and then he heard Dr. Veiga leaving | Maugham FPS 110 now I felt my face go white .... I felt his eyes claiming mine.

Relation between the Gerund and the Participle.

(Cf. also above 9.9).

22.3₅. In vol. IV 12.2 I collected a great many examples of idiomatic expressions after which we have (1) a preposition + gerund, (2) a simple ing-form which may have risen from the gerund-constructions, but must now ('synchronically') be considered a participle rather than a gerund: *burst out, fall, set, start, send, get, begin, busy, is some time, catch, go* and synonyms, *keep* and synonyms.

A few additional examples may find their place here (cf. also the examples collected by Ellinger, EStn 72.49): Shaw TT 82 did you really try to *set* her drinking? | Darwin L 1.101 Music generally sets me thinking too energetically on what I have been at work on | Maugham MS 139 Why on earth did you not *send* Strickland packing | Pennell L 17 the cold and the darkness had not sent love flying | Bosw 2.104 I found him very *busy* putting his books in order | Barrie AdmC 63 he busies himself gathering firewood | He is now *occupied* (*engaged*) (in) writing his Autobiography | Keverne Sanfield Sc 106 her brain was hard *at work* considering the position | Rhode Murd. Praed 24 [vg] Ted was *a long time* a-seeing of her home | he took his time reading the paper | Rose Macaulay P 176 Why should a man have to *waste his time* appearing in a criminal court | Kaye Smith T 159 she *wore* herself *out* entertaining people | Walpole RH 25 I am *wasting* my breath talking | Thack V 351 Mrs. Kirk would *be much better* minding her husband's clothes.

22.3₆. "Keep smiling!" Is this a participle or a gerund? Rather a participle, cp. *keep cool, quiet, in good health, it kept raining* (but not *kept rain*), though we may say both *keep silence* and *keep silent*. Note the popular saying "Keep on keeping on". After *continue, remain* (*remain sitting* as *remain seated*), *go on*, we also have a participle.

Thus also after the transitive: keep the ball rolling, the kettle boiling (cf. keep the dish warm).

Cf. on the other hand the more doubtful: *stop talking*, it *ceused raining* (13.1 and 2).

Note further Churchill C 263 will you go walking with me to-morrow? | Sayers UnnD 6 Denver broke his neck out hunting | Sitwell M 176 one [expression] you've picked up out hunting | Sadleir Privilege 144 his cruelty, which he showed unmistakably out shooting | Borden AS 74 [he was] told out cubbing with his father one day

that she couldn't live long | I have quite enough to do looking after the business.

22.37. The use of the ing in what I have called the *expanded tenses* (*expanded forms* would perhaps be a better expression) has after the appearance of my vol. IV (ch. 12 ff.) been the object of some other treatments of which I must say something here.

The best is F. Mossé, Histoire de la forme périphrastique être + participe présent, in two vols., Paris 1938 —a work of astonishing learning in which the author has succeeded in digging up earlier quotations for numerous phenomena. He lays stress on the continuity of the use of *be* with a first participle from the oldest times and thinks that I have given undue importance to the phrase *is on hunting* (*a hunting*), which according to his statistics was much rarer in ME than the participial phrase. Even though I must admit the truth of this I must persist in thinking that the *on* + gerund phrase has played an important part in developing *the more precise employment* of the expanded form in ModE over against its vague and indefinite employment in ME. In spite of my admiration for his wealth of illustration I think Mossé is somewhat lacking in the true grammarian's feeling for what is really relevant in making a speaker or writer choose one or other of two expressions, the simple or the expanded form. I find my own frame-theory very useful in explaining an astonishing number of the examples adduced by Mossé, though I said already in vol. IV that it does not explain everything. Mossé's treatment of the ModE usage pieces it out into so many subdivisions that one often looses sight of the whole, i. e. of the common idea underlying all these usages. He speaks of *actualité* and *durée*, but generally the essential thing is not duration in itself, but duration in comparison with something else. "As I was saying" (Mossé § 306) presupposes: 'when I was interrupted', etc. In reading what he says of *l'insistance*

I was constantly struck by my own point of view as offering a natural explanation of the sentences. "Supposition et conjecture" (§ 405) has really nothing to do with the expanded form; in Coleridge's sentence "but if you are acting right I should be acting right in imitating you" the expanded form would also have been employed in saying with certainty "(I'm sure) you are acting right, and I shall be acting right in imitating you", i. e. at the moment when I am imitating you. In expressions of "modalité" the use of the expanded form is quite independent of the so-called modal verb *may*, etc. The "valeur ingressive" ascribed to the periphrasis is in many examples inherent in the verb *begin*, etc., independently of the verb-form. This is even more true of the "valeur égressive".

In comparison with Mossé's imposing work K. Schibsbye's thesis Om de udvidede verbalformers begreb og anvendelse i moderne engelsk (København 1936) dwindles down into insignificance. After an introduction with criticism of other views the chief part of the book deals with the "aktionsart" (aspect) of the verb, but the author neither gives a useful definition of aktionsart nor takes into accoumt the numerous treatments of this subject in grammatical works on many languages. In a last very short chapter he tries to make out that the use of the expanded form in some cases modifies the meaning of the verb itself. In "they had not been sleeping together for years" he even seems to think that the sexual act is implied in the expanded form, though of course a man before a court of justice may say, "I never slept with her".

More important is C. A. Bodelsen's paper in EStn 71 p. 220 ff. (1937), though it seems difficult, not to say impossible, to separate statement of fact (simple verbal form) from the action itself (expanded form) as he does.

On the use of the "prefix" [ə] before the participle in "continuous tenses" in dialects see Wright EDG § 437.

22.3s. The connexion between participle and gerund explains the frequent use of the preposition *of* before the object of a participle, which in ElE was quite usual

in standard language, but is now only vg: Gammer 95 As Gammer Gurton ... Sat pesynge and patching of Hodg her mans briche | Heywood P 954 to se her syt, So bysely turnynge of the spyt | Marlowe J 1396 shipping of our goods to Sicily | ib 1701 lcoking of a fryars expedition | Sh Shrew Intr 1.96 ouer-eying of his odde behauiour | As II. 7.4 Heere was he merry, hearing of a song | Osborne 51 wenches ... sitt in the shade singing of ballads | Mi A 50 lesse eagerly pursuing of the truth | Bunyan G 109 Mr. F. who coming out of another room, and seeing of me by the light of the candle ... | Dryden 5.185 a woman passionately loving of her husband | Defoe R 354 a dozen of them at work, we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather | id P 136 Solomon Eagle ... went about denouncing of judgment upon the city | Sketchley Cleop 21 [vg] I should like to know wot is to be done next, 'avin' of your 'ome broke into.

This is rare before an indirect object: Mackenzie C 78 There, blessed if I'm not showing of you the wrong hand | Sketchley Cleop 45 she is always a-givin' of 'im money | Thenks 66 I down't mahnd a-tellin' of yer, thet ... | ib 77 keep on a-tellin' of 'er 'ow metch you lev [i. e. love] 'er.

Relation to Adjectives.

22.41. Many participles are in every respect adjectives, taking adverbs like *very, so, too more, most,* and having no relation to present time: a very charming woman | a highly interesting book | Di X 4 a squeezing, wrenching, grasping, scraping, clutching, covetous, old sinner! | Russell Scient. Outl. 150 [steam-navigation] forces that were by no means recondite in ways which, though they astonished [fact], ought not to have been astonishing | Ward M (p. ?) I found her at first very despairing.

Note *imposing* adj., while the vb. is *impose (up)on.*

22.42. The adjectival character is clearly shown by the verb *is* in combinations like "Disappointing as this statement *is*, we should try to understand it" | Wells OH 201 of Philo and of Plotinus, interesting as the thought and influence of these men were—as against "Disappointing us as this statement *does*" | Wells OH 200 Such a science as anatomy, depending as it does upon accurate drawing, must have been enormously hampered by the natural limitations of the copyist.

22.43. The adjectival character is also shown by prepositions like the following, while a real verbal form would take an object: Sh John V. 6.19 News fitting to the night, Blacke ... | Di D 503 in a burst of passionate eloquence quite surprising to myself | Tarkington MA 224 It never was becoming to her to look pale | Christie MM 270 He was positively insulting to Douglas | Mason Witn. f. Defence 137 Nothing could be more damaging to Stella than secrecy | Locke Ordeyne 176 Any one that interests you must also be interesting to me | Swinburne L 82 he is dreadfully unflattering to me || Trollope B 304 a gentleman, not sufficiently knowing in the ways of the world | Macaulay E 4.340 he might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honours | Di D 609 the Doctor was deserving of our best respect and highest esteem | Caine P 92 the raven is seldom sparing of her voice.

"Some facts which are puzzling to us." This differs from "Some facts which are puzzling us" by not containing the 'aspect' denoted by the 'expanded form' (vol. IV 12); cp. facts which are delightful to us—as against ... are delighting us.

22.44. In some cases the Latin form in *-nt* is preferred in adjectival use to the English form in *-ing*, e. g. repellent | different, note Seeley L 259 The selection of the writers to be read ... I should like to see it differing in different schools, but constant in some

main features | Defoe R 120 it was a quite differing kind from our European cats (would now be *-ent*).

These are purely adjectival, as against the corresponding forms in *-ing* which may take an object, etc. (observing this . . .). Note the difference in form: *prevalent: prevailing, sufficient: sufficing, abundant: abounding*, etc. Cf. also 22.1_5.

Second Participle.

22.51. The second participle is sometimes active in meaning. Thus when it serves to form the perfect and pluperfect: *has seen, had seen; has, had died, gone*, etc.

On the difference between *he is gone* and *he has gone* see vol. IV 3.3.

Note the idiomatic use in Spectator 2 when my mother was gone with child of me about three months | Sheridan 286 a widow . . . being left eight months gone with child.

The participle of *pass*, now written *past*, is used as a substantive = 'time before now', and as a kind of preposition in *half past ten* (cf. Fitzedward Hall M 124 Dr. John Hoddly wrote, in 1773: "I . . . received them handsomely at half past seven, as the modern English now is)," *she hurried past them* (cf. Mi PL 3.62 beatitude past utterance); finally as an adjective = 'perfect' in *past master* (Doyle 6.165 Sherlock Holmes was past-master in the art of putting a humble witness at his ease).

He has died is a real perfect of *die*, while *he is dead* is a real present of *be* with an adjectival predicative: he had been dead some time when his body was found = he had died some time before his body was found | Prokosch A 140 This is what I thought—that for a brief while I actually had died, that for a few seconds I was dead || Galsw MW 2 all the family of his long-dead elder brother.

Cf. *he is drunk* to denote the condition of one who has been drinking (too heavily): Di T 1.133 you think I am drunk? "I think you have been drinking." | Stevenson M 55 you were drunk ... not so bad as that. I had been drinking, though | Galsw C 66 I've been drinking, but I'm not drunk | Gissing H 257 Last night were you drunk?—I had drunk nothing.

22.5₂. Some second participles of intransitive verbs may be used as adjuncts with the same meaning as a perfect participle (active). To the examples given in vol. IV 7.6(4) we may here add the following: Walpole C 139 inhabited by a *retired* sea-captain (also Doyle S 5.76, Benson N 78 and 192) | the *abdicated* monarch (q Kruisinga) | Hardy L 145 as if she saw the three *returned* ones | a *deserted* sailor | Hardy R 9 a curious, interesting and nearly *perished* link | Whittier 149 Under May's *blown* apple-tree | a full-blown rose (high-flown tendencies) | a *full-grown* girl || Scott A 2.235 he was never *ill-dined* or ill-lodged in his life | Di P 371 a good contented, *well-breakfasted* juryman.

Cf. also as predicatives or in apposition: Butler Er 21 we were half-*perished* with cold | NP 1908 he looked *rested* || Maxwell BY 85 *Arrived* on the first floor of a pile of chambers in Lincoln's Inn, he was told that ... | Goldsm V 2.43 I am *resolved* we shall [get it] | I am *determined* to go on; rarely as in Di Ch 161 That I am determined | Marlowe F 1118 are you *remembred* how you crossed me [= 'do you remember'] | be (stand) *possessed* of [= 'possess'].

22.5₃. Some participles with active import denote a more or less permanent quality; they are very often combined with an adverb:

Sh Lr IV. 6.10 Me thinkes y'are better *spoken* | Hughes T 2.253 a quieter spoken man | Di M 413 a noble-spoken gentleman | Shaw IW 146 your daughter may be ... better dressed, more gently spoken, more ladylike than you were | Sh Shrew I. 2.170 well *read*

in poetry | Congreve 255 I did not think you had been read in these matters | Scott Iv 18 to those deeply read in antiquity | Byron 5.215 the star-read Chaldean | Macaulay B 194 We can hardly suppose him to be worse read than ourselves in the history of the Convention | Milton A 28 who is so unread or uncatechis'd in story | Marlowe F 167 well *seene* in minerals (cf. Sh Shrew I. 2.135) | Bacon A 30.19 a wise man ... and excellently seene in the lawes of that nation | Spectator 75 these *travelled* ladies (also Cowper L 1.52, Hardy R 168, etc.) | Spencer A 2.188 the travelled or untravelled reader (cf. IV 7.6(4)).

A *professed* Christian = who professes himself a Christian | a *perjured* person = who has perjured himself | a *declared* lover | a *confirmed* drunkard.

I dare be sworn (e. g. Sh Shrew II. 2.29, Scott A 2.233)—perhaps from the active use: *swear* [*in*] *a man* = 'administer oath to'; cf. *sworn brothers*.

Behaved as in Thack P 249 Young men are much better behaved now—may be said to supply the want of an adjective in *-ed* from *behaviour*.

Sh has *deserved* = 'well deserving' (Alls II. 1.192); Milton *languished* = 'languishing' and *festered* = 'festering' (SA 119, 186).

On the whole some of these second participles in active sense resemble adjectives in *-ed* (*experienced*, *talented*, etc.). Cf. also *learned* adj. [lə·nid] = 'who has learned much', *aged*, and see Morphology sub *-ed*.

22.54. In spite of all this the second participle is passive in meaning in the majority of cases, if the verb is transitive: as adjunct: a conquered province, and as predicative, in which case it forms the 'passive tenses': the province is, was, has been, had been, will be, is being conquered, etc., gets conquered, etc. On the distinction between conclusive and non-conclusive verbs and on time-relations in general see vol. IV 7.6.

No time-indication is found in the participle itself:

Spencer A 1.336 The very conception of training, as carried on in the past and still carried on | We went to the city once called Kristiania and now called Oslo.

22.5₅. The second participle is used in constructions similar to those in 22.3₂: Merrick MG 192 it was with a little shock that Mary heard the order given | I want this settled before we go.

The parallelism between this and the infinitive is seen in Di D 459 how delightful it was to see the matter settled, and Mrs. Micawber recover her spirits.—Curme S 125 calls attention to the difference: 'I saw, watched, the net hauled in' (fact) or 'being hauled in' (descriptive), but I do not subscribe to his remark that "the perfect passive participle in this construction is an elliptical present passive infinitive with the infinitive *be* suppressed".

According to Horwill (in S. P. E. Tract 45.193) it is usual in U. S. to have participles where British usage requires *to be* before the passive participle: it was ordered completed | desire a meeting called | his ballot was announced voted.

22.5₆. The second participle is also used in competition with an infinitive in cases like Ch E 278 she hadde herd seyd that thilke day ... | ib 1636 I have herd seyd | Galsw M 136 They were talking, he had heard said, about doing something | Gissing R 111 I have often heard it said that ... | Archer A 57 I have heard it said, with a sneer, that ... || Ch B 3154 Ful ofte in game a soothe I have herd seye | Carlyle F 3.123 was there a great intellect ever heard tell of without first a true and great heart?

On the participle used instead of an infinitive see vol. IV 10.9.

22.5₇. Second participles in their adjunctal and predicative employments resemble adjectives. The transition to adjectives is shown syntactically when they are preceded by *very* and *too*, while as real participles they

require *much* (or *very much*) and *too much:* he was very *agitated*, but: he was much (very much) agitated by the accident | he was too *frightened* to speak, but: he was too much frightened by the sudden report of the gun to speak | he was too much *preoccupied* with his own affairs to notice ....

Very is chiefly found with participles expressing mental states; I have quotations from recent authors for *agitated, altered, annoyed, ashamed, bored, cut up, depressed, determined, devoted, discontented, disgusted, distinguished, draggled, embarrassed, enlightened, excited, exhausted, flattered, flushed, frightened, grieved, guarded, harrassed, interested, mystified, neglected, pleased* (very pleased, e. g. Thack N 726, only too pleased, both very frequent), *precoccupied, relieved, respected, satisfied, shaken, shocked, struck, surprised, tired, united* (a very united couple Doyle S 5.119), *upset, used* (he wasn't very used to ladies' society), *wearied, worried.*

Here we may place Galsw FM 38 She's very *married* | Gibbs BR 71 She's very *gone* on him.

Very is rarer with participles denoting material conditions:

Galsw C 206 the candle showed them each other's faces, very *changed* from the faces that they knew | Pinero B 119 it's a little place—very *cramped* | Wells N 65 my very *crumpled* collar | Macaulay E 4.227 in a very *disorganised* state | Galsw P 6.93 his clothes were very *worn.*

The use of *very* with a second participle is not very old; the earliest examples known to Fitzedward Hall, Modern English 55, are: Sir William Jones 1760 very *concerned* | Gibbon 1762 very *unqualified* | Miss Carter 1778 my mind is very *composed* | Th. Taylor 1794 very concealed | De Quincey Works VI.xvi.

In my own collections the earliest are from the beginning of the 19th c.: Austen M 254 with a very *saddened* heart | id P 28 to be so very *guarded* | id S

314 I am very *drunk* | Quincey 195 upon any very *enlightened* principles.

22.5s. *Much* with such participles must now be considered somewhat old-fashioned:

Christie St 18 "Then," I said, much *amused* ... | Di D 303 Who? cried S., much *astonished* | Keverne Sanfield Sc 228 I'm much *distressed* about the old man | Maugham Alt 350 his face was much *lined* | Fielding 4.133 If I should not be much *pleased* to be a queen | Porlock X v. Rex 157 He was very hot but much pleased with himself | Moore EW 157 Fred was much *shocked* | Masterman OT 191 Too much *surprised* to question him, I obeyed | Darwin L 1.124 He became much *tired* in the evenings | Di OT 164 Being much tired with the walk | Ru P 3.5 he was much tired of the place | Doyle S 6.225 a much-*tried* woman | Moore EW 50 I was much *troubled* at that time | Galsw FS 758 Much *upset* ... she sent Soames a telegram | Christie St 82 I am much *worried.*

Note that *very* to denote a high degree (*very glad*, etc.) is not very old in the language.

The reaction of purists can be seen in the following quotation: McKenna Ninety 193 [young lady:] "... and I'm very annoyed with him" ... [Oxford don:] "Very much annoyed", he suggested. "Please don't correct my English!" she cried. "But it wasn't English till I corrected it."

Very is very rare indeed with *afraid*, though this participle of the obsolete verb *affray* (OF *affrayer*, *effrayer* < * *ex-fridare*) must now be considered an adjective (cf. vol. II 14.16): Di D 395 I was much afraid | Shaw 2.130 I shall shew him, how much afraid I am || Maynard Smith F 419 Wiel was very afraid of Bolton.

The adjectival character of the participle is also seen in the (rare) possibility of comparison, e. g. *drunker* (Hemingway To Have and Have Not 42 longer, blearier, drunker than ever), *damnedest*, *beatenest* (Twain H 1.136

It's the beatenest thing) and others, cf. Morphology sub *-er, -est,* and in the occasional formation of a substantive in *-ness:* Galsworthy D 224 her quaint grown-upness; cf. Morphology sub *-ness.*

22.59. Some participles were in former centuries used = 'that can(not) be —d': Sh R2 II. 1.268 *unavoided* = unavoidable | Hml I. 1.96 young Fortinbras Of *vnimproued* mettle | Sh: *detested* = detestable, *abhorred* = horrible.

22.510. Like the first participle the second participle is pretty often used loosely without belonging in the normal way to some word in the sentence ("unattached"): Goldsm V 1.53 When gone [= when he was gone], our conversation at supper turned upon our late guest | ib 1.127 When [he was] gone, we all regarded each other for some minutes with confusion | Austen M 428 equally formed for domestic life, and attached to country pleasures, their home was the home of affection and comfort | Beaconsfield L 328 And absorbed in these feelings it was not immediately observed by him that ... | Wells TM 118 Thus loaded, our progress was slower | Hawthorne S 249 While occupied with these reflections, a knock came at the door of the study | Dreiser AT 2.34 For, once married, what could her parents do?

Cf. without participle: Franklin 168 In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his progress | Austen P 437 While in their cradles we planned the union | Galsw F 176 but once out-of-doors the sky seemed what she wanted | id Sw 21 Up in his room again, the house began to be haunted | Doyle S 6.265 the crime was either committed when insane or ....

Chapter XXIII.

Negation.

This chapter is to a great extent an extract of the English parts of my book "Negation in English and Other Languages" (København 1917, Det kgl. danske videnskabernes selskab, Histor.-filol. meddelelser), rearranged, with many omissions and some additions.

General History of Negative Sentences.

23.11. It is always important for any hearer or reader as soon and as precisely as possible to know whether a statement is meant as positive or as negative; therefore the negative element is generally placed in the beginning of a statement and expressed as strongly and distinctly as possible. In course of time, however, this element may for various reasons be weakened—and even the position in the beginning may contribute to such weakening—and then a strengthening may be required. On the other hand there is always a tendency to attract the negation to the verb as the central part of the sentence (nexus). Consequently we witness a curious fluctuation, which is found in nearly the same way in various languages, Latin, French, Scandinavian, German, and English.

In English the starting point was

(1) *ic ne secge* with the same *ne* as in the other IE languages.

Ne in some frequently occurring combinations lost its vowel and was fused with the verb:

(Given here in late ME forms): *nam*, *nart*, *nis*, *nas*, *nad(de)*, *nas*, *nere(n)*, *nill(e)*, *nolde*, *nat*.

These had all become extinct before the ModE period, except *nill*, which is found rarely, e. g. Kyd Sp I. 4.7. I nill refuse; twice in pseudo-Shakespearian passages: Pilgr 188 and Per III prol. 55. Shakespeare him-

self has it only in the combinations *will you, nill you* (Shrew II. 273) and *will he, nill he* (Hml V. 1.19); and the latter combination (or *will I, nill I; will ye, nill ye*, which all would yield the same phonetic result) survives in mod. *willy-nilly*, rarely spelt as separate words, as in Byron DJ 6.118 Will I—Nill I (rimes with *silly*) | Allen W 64 they would obtrude themselves, will he, nill he, upon him—where both the person (*he*) and the tense shows that the whole has really become one unanalyzed adverb.—Another rare survival is *not* (OE *ne wat* 'know not') in BJo P III. 5.57 Lucanian, or Apulian, I not whether.

Ne before the verb is the prevalent form throughout the OE period, though the stronger negatives *na* (from *ne* + *a* = Got. *aiw*, ON *ei*), *nalles* 'not at all', and *noht* (from *nawiht, nawiht*, orig. meaning 'nothing'), were by no means rare after the verb to strengthen the preceding *ne*. The last was the word surviving in Standard English, and thus we get the typical ME form

(2) *I ne seye not.*

Here *ne* was pronounced with so little stress that it was apt to disappear altogether, and *not* becomes the regular negative in all cases:

(3) *I say not.*

The transition between stages (2) and (3) is seen, for instance, in Mandeville (14th c.), where *ne* by itself is rare (130 ȝif the snow ne were), but is more frequent with some other negative word: 45 it *ne* reynethe *not* | 51 yee *ne* schulle *not* suffre | 52 *ne* ben not | 58 there *nys nouther* mete for hors *ne* watre | 181 *ne* ... *nevere*. But *ne* is not required, see e. g. 45 they may not enlarge it ... it reyneth not.—A late example of isolated *ne* is Gammer 140 he ne can; the usual negative in that play is *not*.

23.1₂. The practical disappearance of *ne* and the exclusive use of *not* was reached in the fifteenth century. The usual order was the one here indicated, with *not*

after the verb. There was, however, a certain tendency to place *not* before the verb. The word-order in "And if I *not performe*, God let me neuer thrive" for *performe not* is considered by Puttenham, The Arte of Engl. Poesie 1589 (Arber) 262, as a "pardonable fault" which "many times giues a pretie grace vnto the speech"; it is pretty frequent in Shakespeare, see Al Schmidt, Lex p. 779, but is rare after the 17th c. Examples: Sh H4B IV. 1.107 it not appeares to me | Hml III. 2.217 For who not needs, shall neuer lacke a frend | Tp II. 1.121 I not doubt | Otway 239 if I not revenge Thy sufferings | Cowper Task 4.39 the cups That cheer but not inebriate.

23.1ɜ. The construction *I say not* was normal for a long time; examples from Sh are given in Schmidt's Lexikon p. 779, cf. Franz Sh-Gramm p. 480, and survivals are found much later. They are found with special frequency in the combination *I know* (*knew*) *not*, which in the 17th and 18th c. was probably colloquial, but when found later is archaic and literary. (See e. g. Congreve 265, Defoe R 15 and often, but with *do* R 277, Swift J 56, Johnson R 41 etc., Austen M 9 and often, Macaulay E 4.318, Di D 634, Ruskin S 105, Hope R 136, Wilde In 106, Lang Tennyson 108, Stevenson T 118, etc.). This is curiously parallel with survivals in other languages with the corresponding verb: *nescio, je ne sais*. The construction without *do* is pretty frequent with *matters* (Ruskin C 154) and *if I mistake not* (Seeley E 17). In other cases such constructions become rarer and rarer from the beginning of the 18th century. In poetry they are by no means rare, but there as well as in prose they are felt as archaisms. Sometimes they must be considered direct imitations of biblical usage, thus in Bennett C 1.47 Somehow, in a way that Darius comprehended not; cf. AV John 1.5 And the light shineth in darknesse, and the darknesse comprehended it not | Hardy L 117 Anna being as a domestic animal

who humbly heard but understood not; cf. Luke 2.50 and elsewhere in the Bible.

23.14. In those extremely numerous combinations in which one of the "lesser" verbs appears *not* was naturally placed before the really significant verb: *I will not say, shall not say, must not say, cannot say, have not said, had not said, am not saying,* etc. To these came to be added *do;* from the fourteenth century on *do, doth (does)* and *did* became increasingly frequent in all sentences that did not contain one of the just mentioned lesser verbs. At first *do* was used indiscriminatingly without any syntactic meaning, but afterwards its use was restricted to the cases known from modern grammars in which it plays a distinctive grammatical role (see below on *do*, ch. 25.8). The position of *not* before the really important verb is thus carried through:

(4) *I do not say.*

We seem to have reached the ideal construction, with a distinct negative word before the essential verb. But the equilibrium is not stable. Even in those cases in which the verb before *not* is not strongly stressed for the sake of emphasis it tends for rhythmical reasons to be stronger than *not*, which then tends to lose its vowel so that we get the colloquial

23.15. (5) *I don't say.*

This carries through the attraction of the negative to the (lesser) verb which was prepared long ago in the word-order in questions (Ch *wol not I*, etc., see Negation, p. 116).

The contracted forms seem to have come into use in speech, though not yet in writing, about the year 1600. In a few instances (extremely few) they may be inferred from the metre in Sh, though the full form is written, thus Oth IV. 2.82. *Are not* you a strumpet? No, as I am a Christian | ib IV. 2.161 But neuer taynt my loue. I *cannot* say Whore. Some other examples, adduced by Van Dam (Sh.'s Prosody and Text p. 155)

and König (Der vers in Sh.'s dramen 39) are more or less doubtful.

In writing the forms in *n't* make their appearance about 1660 and are already frequent in Dryden's, Congreve's, and Farquhar's comedies. Addison in the *Spectator* no. 135 speaks of *mayn't, can't, sha'n't, won't,* and the like as having "very much untuned our language, and clogged it with consonants". Swift also (in the Tatler no. 230) brands as examples of "the continual corruption of our English tongue" such forms as *cou'dn't, ha'n't, can't, shan't;* but nevertheless he uses some of them very often in his *Journal to Stella.*

23.16. Among the forms there are some that are so simple that they call for no remark, thus

mayn't [meint], *hadn't* [hædnt], *didn't* [didnt], *couldn't* [kudnt], *wouldn't* [wudnt], *shouldn't* [ʃudnt], *needn't* [ni·dnt], *mightn't* [maitnt], *oughtn't* [ɔ·tnt], *daren't* [dɛ·ənt], *mustn't* [mʌsnt] with dropping of [t], see vol. I 7.734.

The sound [t] is also left out in the colloquial form [ju·snt] for *used not;* an American lady told me that this was childish: "no grown-up person in America would say so", but in England it is very often heard, and also often written, see Pinero S 189 my face is covered with little shadows that usen't to be there | Wilde W 37 I usen't to be one of her admirers, but I am now | Shaw C 11 Usent it to be a lark? | ib 193 I'm blest if I usent to have to put him up | id J 255, M 192, 202, etc.

Thus also

hasn't [hæznt], *isn't* [iznt], *doesn't* [dʌznt], *haven't* [hævnt], *aren't* [a·nt], are simple enough, but it should be noted that these are recent restitutions after *has, is,* etc., which have ousted, partially at least, older irregular forms.

23.17. Most of the irregular forms seem to be explicable on the principle that the *-n't*-forms should be at once so distinct from the positive forms that no

doubt could exist as to the meaning. To obtain this speakers in some cases were able to utilize existing double forms.

Thus we had by the side of each other *will* and *wol;* the former was used in positive statements, the latter was combined with *not* in *wonnot* (found in Dryden and other writers of that time) and fused in *won't* (Rehearsal 41, Congreve 237, Defoe G 48, Fielding T 1.237, etc.).

For *have* we had two pronunciations, with short and long vowel (vol. I 4.432), the former prevailed in positive sentences [hæv], the latter with *-n't* became [heint]; the spelling *han't* or *ha'n't* is frequent, e. g. Congreve 230 han't you four thousand pounds | Swift P 32, 92 you ha'n't, 155 I han't | id J 22 Han't I, ib 40, 43, 63 etc. | Defoe R 2.164 I han't | id G 129, 132 | Fielding 1.377 han't you heard | Sheridan 290 I ha'n't a moment to lose | Hardy R 34 I han't been | id L 201 Ha'n't I mussed her?

Instead of *han't* the spelling *ain't* also occurs as a vulgarism (*h* dropped).

Do not becomes *don't* [dount], which is found, e. g., in Swift J 17, etc., Defoe G 12, 45, 137, and innumerable times since then. The vowel [ou] is difficult: could it be a kind of remnant of the old pronunciation before the raising of [o·] to [u·]? Luick, EStn 62.21 accepts Holthausen's not quite improbable explanation: analogy from *wo'n't* (cf. on dialectal forms ib 22).

23.1s. In a series of negative forms we have the long vowel [a·nt] as against short [æ] (and weak [ə]) in the positive. In *shan't* (also spelt *sha'n't* and formerly *sha'nt* or *shann't*) the vowel [a·] may be due to the form with *u* from *l* (vol. I. 10.452); this explanation does not apply to *can't* [ka·nt], which is frequent from the beginning of the 18th c. But there is a general tendency to have [a·] instead of [æ] before *nt: grant, plant, chant,* etc., vol. I 10.552. (Walker 1775 gives not only *can't,* but *ha'n't* for *has not* and *have not* as riming with *aunt*).

In a similar way I take it that *am not* has become [a·nt] with lengthening of the vowel and dropping of [m]. This may have been the actual pronunciation meant by the spelling *an't* (cf. *can't, shan't*) in earlier times, see e. g. Swift P 90 I a'n't well (also ib 97) | id J 75 I an't vexed | 83 I an't sleepy | 152 an't I | Defoe G 98 I an't to be a tradesman; I am to be a gentleman: I an't to go to school | Congreve 250 I an't deaf | id 251 I an't calf enough | Sheridan 208 (Sir Oliver) | id 211 (Sir Peter) | Austen S 280 I an't the least astonished at it | Dickens X 59 [vg] I an't so fond of his company | Bennett W 1.152 An't I good enough? | James A 1.37 You are what my wife calls intellectual. I an't, a bit. Cf. below on *ain't*.

Elphinston 1765 (1.134) mentions *an't* for *am not* with 'sinking' of *m* and *o*, but does not specify the vowel sound.

Nowadays [a·nt] is frequently heard, especially in tag-questions: I'm a bad boy [a·nt ai?], but hardly in "I am not going", etc. But when authors want to write it, they are naturally induced to write *aren't*, as *r* has become mute in such combinations in Standard (South) English, and the form then looks as if it originated in a mistaken use of the plural instead of the singular. I find the spelling *aren't I* or *arn't I* pretty frequently in George Eliot (M 1.34, 43, 63, 2.164; A 441, 451, S 84, 226), but only to represent vulgar or dialectal speech. In the younger generation of writers, however, it is also found as belonging to educated speakers: Wilde Im 10 I am always smart. Aren't I? | Benson N 319 [aristocrat:] I'm a first-class ass, aren't I? | Hope, Pinero, Wells, Hankin, Galsw, Bennett, etc.

The form [a·nt ai] is found convenient and corresponds to the other *n't*-forms; it obviates the clumsy *am I not* and *amn't I*, which I find written in Schreiner T 202 and Cronin H 286; [æmənt ai] is said to be frequent in Ireland (Belfast); Synge [T] *amn't* 185 (twice)

and 188. In U. S. *aren't I* is rarely said and only as a conscious Briticism (Mencken AL[4] 202), while *ain't I* is common.

23.19. *Are not* becomes [arnt], which regularly becomes [a nt]; we find spellings like Swift P 90 ar'n't you sorry | 94 ar'n't you asham'd?

Thus frequently in 19th and 20th c.

But there is also another frequent form, which *may* have developed phonetically from the older alternate form with long ME |a·|, see vol. I 4.432, and dropping of *r* (ib 7.79); this gives the result [eint]; cf. the spellings in Swift J 81 an't you an impudent slut | ib 93, 131 | Defoe G 129 An't you rich | Fielding T 4.99 [Mrs. Honour] a'n't (3rd person pl.) | ib 1.86 you an't | ib 4.256 you ant | Austen S 234 [lady:] they are very pretty, an't they | ib 237 you an't well | an't in Trollope B also in the speech of educated people, e. g. 411, 483 || Austen S 196 [old lady:] Mind me, now, if they ain't married by Midsummer | Shaw C 116 youre joking, aint you? | Norris P 245 Ain't you glad you aren't short of wheat.

Ain't in the first person sg. probably has arisen through morphological analogy, as nowhere else the persons were distinguished in the *-nt*-forms. Examples: Tenn L 2.21 Ain't I a beast for not answering you before? | Meredith H 346 [young lord:] I ain't a diplomatist. It is probable that some at least of the 19th c. quotations above for *an't I* are meant as [eint ai].

23.21. The *s* [z] was frequently dropped in *isn't, wasn't, doesn't,* (thus expressly Elphinston 1765 1.134) and this gives rise to various forms of interest. For *isn't* we find *'ent* (facilitatis causa, Cooper 1685) and in the 18th c. the form *i'n't,* which Fitzedward Hall (M. 236) quotes from Foote, Richardson, and Miss Burney. But the vowel is unstable; Swift P 32 writes *e'n't,* and if we imagine a lowering and lengthening of the vowel (corresponding pretty exactly to what happened in

don't, *can't*, etc.), this would result in a pronunciation [eint]; now this must be written *an't* or *ain't*, and would fall together with the form mentioned above as possibly developed from *aren't*. *An't* in the third person as early as Swift J 105 Presto is plaguy silly to-night, an't he? | ib 147, 179, 273. In the 19th and 20th c. *an't* and *ain't* are frequent for *is not* as representing vulgar speech; see quotations in Storm EPh 709 and Farmer & Henley, also e. g. Austen S 125 I don't pretend to say that there ain't | ib 270 What an ill-natured woman his mother is, an't she? | ib 287 if Lucy an't there.

But later Dean Alford (Q 71) says: "It ain't certain. I ain't going ... very frequently used, even by highly educated persons". And in Anthony Hope (F 40, 45, C 57) people of the best society are represented as saying *it ain't* and *ain't it*. Dr. Furnivall is the only educated man I personally have heard using this form habitually. Cf. for U. S. Mencken AL⁴ p. 445.

The form *wa'nt* or *wa'n't* for *was not* is pretty frequent in Defoe, e. g. G 51 you was ... wa'nt you? | id R 8 I warrant you were frighted, wa'n't you.

I find the same form frequently in American writers: Howells S 10 we wa'n't ragged | ib 15 I wa'n't (often, in all persons) | London V 329 he wa'n't | Page J 350 [vg] I wa'n't after no money ... 'T wa'n't me.

A British variant is written *warn't*, where *r* is mute, the sound represented being [wɔ·nt]; it is frequent vulgarly in Dickens, e. g. Do 77 If I warn't a man on a small annuity | ib 223 [vg] it warn't him | id F 24 see if he warn't | Galsworthy P 86.

23.2₂. *Don't* for *does not* is generally explained from a substitution of some other person for the third person; but as this is not a habitual process, as *do* in the third person sg. is found only in some few dialects, but not in standard English, and as the tendency is rather in the reverse direction of using the verb form in *s*

with subjects of the other persons (*says I*, *they talks*, etc.), the inference is natural that we have rather a phonetic process, *s* being absorbed before *nt* as in *isn't*, etc., above. *Don't* in the third person is found in Farquhar B 321, in Defoe G 47 (my brother don't kno'), Goldsmith 663, 671, Sheridan D 277, and very frequently in the 19th c. Byron uses it repeatedly in the colloquial verse of *Don Juan*, where *doesn't* is probably never found, though *does not* and *doth not* are found. Dickens has it constantly in his dialogues, chiefly, but not exclusively, in representing the speech of vulgar people; and he sometimes even uses it in his own name (as Do 500 How Susan does it, she don't know | ib 541 he don't appear to break his heart). The form is used constantly in conversations in later novels, etc. That it could not rightly be called a vulgarism nowadays, however much schoolmasters may object to it, will also appear from the following quotations (the two last American): Shelley L 727 I have just heard from Peacock, saying, that he don't think that my tragedy will do, and that he don't much like it | Austen S 193 it don't signify talking | Ward F 184 [a lord:] Well, it don't matter | id M 86 [a celebrated traveller:] that don't matter | Shaw D 93 Sir Patrick: Why dont he live for it? (cf. id 1.4, 174, 178, 179, 203, 204, etc.) | Wells L 19 it don't matter a bit (said Mr. Lewisham) | Norris O 231 it stands to reason, don't it? | Herrick M 187 it don't make any difference.

Here, as with *ain't*, the distinction of person and number has been obliterated in the negative forms.

23.2a. *Daren't* stands for both *dare not* (*dares not*) and *dared not*, the latter through a natural phonetic development (vol. I 7.72; cf. also EStn 23.461), e. g. Thack P 3.83 Her restlessness wakened her bedfellows more than once. She daren't read more of Walter Lorraine: Father was at home, and would suffer no light | Ward D 1.99 Her spirit failed her a little. She daren't climb after him in

the dark | Kipling L 126 the ship's charts were in pieces and our ships daren't run south | Shaw 2.195 you know you darent have given the order if you hadnt seen us | Bennett T 326 We were halted before I could see. And I daren't look round.

There is a negative form of the (obsolescent) preterit *durst*, in which the first *t* is often omitted; it is sometimes used as a present (thus a Norfolk speaker, Di D 407; Captain Cuttle id Do 75). Recent examples: Kipling SS 166 they dursn't do it | Shaw 2.91 They dussent ave nothink to do with me.

23.24. *Ben't* seems now extinct except in dialects (*bain't*); it was heard in educated society in Swift's time, see P 105 if you ben't hang'd | ib 110 if that ben't fair, hang fair.

Dialectal *n't*-forms for the second person sg. occur, for instance in Fielding T (Squire Western): *shatunt* '(thou) shalt not', *wout unt* = 'wouldst not', *at'n't* or *at unt* 'art not', and others.

For *needn't* I find an abbreviated American form several times in Opie Read's Toothpick Tales, e. g. 108 yer neenter fly off'n the handle.

There is a curious American form *whyn't* = 'why didn't' or 'why don't' (Payne, Alab. Wordl.); in Page J 57 a negro asks: Whyn't you stay? | Lewis EG 26 | Hemingway Have and Have Not 74 | McCoy No Pockets 25 | Steinbeck Mice and Men 30, etc.

In children's speech there is a negative form corresponding to *you better do that* (from *you'd better*), namely *Bettern't you* = 'had you not better'; Sully St. of Childh. 177.

An extreme reduction is found in the familiar careless [ai dn-nou] or [ai d(ə)-nou] for "I don't know", in novels written "I dunno" and [ai dm-maind] for "I don't mind": the sentence is understood as a whole, cf. Linguistica, p. 219; this is not possible if *know* means

Fr. *connais*, G. *kenne*, and it is never found when there is an object expressed.

23.25. The whole of the development here sketched has led to two advantages: the negation is in all cases placed before the really significant verb, and positive and negative statements are generally kept easily distinct from one another in spite of the dwindling down of the negative element to the bare *n't*, cf. 25.9.

The *n't* forms are colloquial, but may be heard in university lectures, etc. They are not, however, used much in *reading* and it sounds hyper-colloquial, in some cases even with a comical tinge, when too many *don't*, *isn't* are substituted for *do not*, *is not*, etc. in reading serious prose aloud. In poetry the contracted forms are justified only where other colloquial forms are allowed, e. g. By DJ 5.6 They vow to amend their lives, and yet they don't; Because if drown'd, they can't—if spared, they won't.

Naturally the full forms admit of greater emphasis on the negative element than the contracted forms; [kænɔt] is hardly ever heard in colloquial speech unless exceptionally stressed, and then the second syllable may have even stronger stress than the first (cf. the italics in Di D 241 I cannot say—I really can*not* say). In Byron's DJ a distinction seems to be carried through between *cannot* when the stress is on *can*, and *can not* when it is on *not*. *Will not* is more emphatic than *won't* in Ridge G 219 "I won't have it! I will not have it!". Cf. Maxwell F 76 My dear boy, it isn't good — —". And he said it again, with heightened emphasis. "It's not good, it's bad". Cf. also Sweet NEG § 366: "In fact such sentences [as *he is not a fool*] have in the spoken language two forms [hij iznt ə fuwl] and [hijz not ə fuwl]. In the former the negation being attached specially to an unmeaning form-word must necessarily logically modify the whole sentence, just as in *I do not think*

so [ai dount þiŋk sou], so that the sentence is equivalent to 'I deny that he is a fool'. In the other form of the sentence the *not* is detached from the verb, and is thus at liberty to modify the following noun, so that the sentence is felt to be equivalent to *he is no fool*, where there can be no doubt that the negative adjective-pronoun *no* modifies the noun, so that [hijz not ə fuwl] is almost equivalent to 'I assert that he is the opposite of a fool'."

On the distinction between *may not* and *mayn't*, *must not* and *mustn't* in some cases see below 23.7_7.

The contracted forms are very often used in tag-questions (He is old, isn't he? | you know her, don't you? etc.), and in such questions as are hardly questions at all, but another form of putting a positive assertion: Isn't he old? = 'he is very old' (you cannot disagree with me on that point) | Don't you know? = 'you surely must know'. In a real question, therefore, it is preferable to say and write, for instance: "Did I meet the lady when I was with you? If not, *did you not* know her at that time?" because "... didn't you know her?" would seem to admit of one reply only.

In Northern English and Scottish we have enclitic *-na* (OE *nā*) instead of the Southern *-n't: donna* (*dinna*), *mustna*, *wasna*, etc.

What is Negatived.

23.31. In the historical survey in the preceding sections we have mentioned only nexal negations, i. e. those in which the whole combination of a subject and a predicate is negatived—the negative element being joined more or less closely to the finite verb. But alongside of these we have special negations, in which some particular word is negatived. This is done either by some modification of the word, generally a prefix:

n-: no, none, nought, neither, nor, never—nobody, no one, nothing, nowhere.
un-: unhappy, etc.
in-: inhuman, impossible, ignoble, illiterate, irreligious (various forms according to Latin phonology).
dis-: disorder.
non-: non-belligerent—
or by placing *not* or *no* before the word: not happy, no more.

Though the distinction between special and nexal negation is clear enough in principle, it is not always easy in practice to distinguish the two kinds. Thus there is scarcely any difference between *she isn't happy* and *she is unhappy*, though the latter is somewhat stronger. If, however, we add a subjunct like *very*, we see a great difference between *she isn't very happy* and *she is very unhappy*.

The nexus is negatived in *Many of us didn't want the war*, but many others did (NP 1917). But in *Not many of us wanted the war* we have a special negative belonging to *many of us* and making that into *few of us;* and about these it is predicated that they wanted the war. Cf. Drinkwater Lincoln 24 Many people in this country want abolition; many don't | Christie LE 109 Fathers and daughters often don't get on (different from *don't often get on*) | Mackenzie S 1.57 The only interesting event was the pavement-artist, and he was very often not there (= absent). Cf. below ch. 23.7_2 on *not all, all ... not.*

The use or non-use of the auxiliary *do* serves in many, but not of course in all, cases to distinguish between nexal and special negation; thus we have special negation in Swift 3.176 I found myself not very well | Di N 745 She died not long after | Shaw 1.160 He seems not certain of his way.

23.3₂. In the case of a contrast we have a special negation; hence the separation of *is* (with comparative-

ly strong stress) and *not* in Macaulay E 1.41 the remedy is, not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun.—*Do* is not used in such sentences as AV Mat 10.34 I came not to send peace, but a sword | Wilde P 135 my ruin came not from too great individualism of life, but from too little | Dickinson S 14 We meet not in drawing-rooms, but in the hunting-field.

Even in such contrasted statements, however, the negative is very often attracted to the verb, which then takes *do:* we do not meet in the drawing-room, but in the hunting-field—the latter part being then equivalent to: but we meet in the hunting-field | I do not complain of your words, but of the tone in which they were uttered | I don't admire her face, but (I do admire) her voice | He didn't say that it was a shame, but that it was a pity | Tennyson 464 I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere (contrast not expressed).

Other examples of constructions in which *not* is referred to the verb instead of some other word: Wordsw P 4.16 I did not step into the well-known boat Without a cordial greeting | Hope Q 132 Don't pay only the arrears, pay all you can | Galsw F 332 it doesn't only concern myself.—Note also: We aren't here to talk nonsense, but to act—where the sentence "we aren't here" in itself is a contradiction in terms.

23.3₃. When the negation is attracted to the verb, it occasions a cleaving of *never*, with *ever* standing by itself. In writing the verbal form is sometimes separated in an unnatural way: "*Can she not ever* write herself?" (Hallam in Tennyson L 1.258), representing the spoken "*Can't she ever ...*".—Wells H 422 You shan't touch those hostels ever again. Ever | Hope D 40 I suppose you don't ever write to him? | Ward M 242 I can't ever see that man again | Caine P 219 so don't you ever be troubled about that | Maxwell BY 126 tell him there will never be anybody else. Not ever—ever | id

F 101 And don't return here—ever. I don't want to see you again—not ever || Sh Hml III. 2.411 let not euer The soule of Nero enter this firme bosome | Shelley 83 A light around my steps which would not ever fade | Trollope D 2.40 Do you not ever go? | Shaw 1.40 you shall not—not ever.

23.3₄. A special case of frequent occurrence is the rejection of something as the cause of or reason for something real, expressed in a negative form: "he is happy, not on account of his riches, but on account of his good health" expressed in this form "he is not (isn't) happy on account of his riches, but on account of his good health". It will easily be seen that "I didn't go because I was afraid" is ambiguous (I went and was not afraid, or, I did not go, and was afraid). Kaye Smith HA 279 I'm not keeping Fourhouses as it is because I don't think it's capable of improvement, but because I don't want to put myself outside my class.

In the spoken language a distinction will usually be made between the two kinds of sentences by the tone, which rises on *call* in "I didn't call because I wanted to see her" (but for some other reason), while it falls on *call* in "I didn't call because I wanted to avoid her" (the reason for not calling).

23.3₅. Not infrequently *not* is attracted to the verb in such a way that an adverb, which belongs to the whole statement, is placed between words which should not properly be separated, as in Trollope D 1.76 you *are not probably* aware ... (= probably you are not aware, or: you are probably not aware) | Ward E 2 Edward M., however, *was not apparently* consoled by her remarks | NP 1917 This is a strong expression. Yet it *is not perhaps* exaggerated.—Cf., on the other hand, Shaw 1.27 You *will of course not* meet him until he has spoken to me | id D 21 he *is clearly not* a prosperous man | Galsw P 55 It's *simply not* fair to other people (= is simply unfair).

When *not* is taken with some special word, it becomes possible to use the adverb *still*, which is only found in positive sentences. *The officers were still not friendly* (NP 1917) is different from *the officers were not yet friendly* (*not yet* nexal negative) in so far as the latter presupposes a change having occurred after that time, which the former does not. Cf. also Maxwell G 322 He was still not a brilliant controversialist | Swift J 503 my head is still in no good order (= 'is still bad', slightly different from *is not yet well*).

23.36. *Not a* or *not one* is a kind of stronger *no;* the two words belong closely together, as an instance of special negative, the verb consequently taking no auxiliary *do;* cf. vol. II 16.73, where many examples are given; see further:

Austen M 395 say not a word of it | Bennett B 66 she said not a word about that interview | Doyle S 5.230 he lost not an hour in breaking with the murderer.

In a similar way *not* is attracted to *the least, the slightest*, and in recent usage *at all*, as shown by the absence of *do:* Swift 3.200 his Majesty took not the least notice of us | Di P 581 they paid not the slightest attention to Mr. Pickwick | Stevenson T 115 the murderer minded him not a whit | Phillpotts M 350 he rested but two hours and slept not at all | Wells L 65 an urgency that helped him not at all | Galsw F 209 they talked not at all for a long time.—Cf. ib 415 he cared not the snap of one of his thin, yellow fingers.

23.37. Where we have a verb connected with an infinitive, it is often of great importance whether the negation refers to the nexus (main verb) or to the infinitive. In the earlier stages of the language this was not always clear: *he tried not to look that way* was ambiguous; now the introduction of *do* as the auxiliary of a negative nexus has rendered a differentiation possible: *he did not try to look that way* | *he tried not to look that way;* and the (not yet recognized) placing of *not* after

to serves to make the latter sentence even more unambiguous: *he tried to not look that way*. The distinction is clear in Bennett W 2.187 She *did not wish* to reflect; she strongly *wished not to* reflect.

Other examples with *not* belonging to an infinitive: Di D 112 *Try not to do* it again | id X 20 the more he *endeavoured not to think*, the more he thought | Macaulay E 1.41 the fool who *resolved not to go* into the water till he had learnt to swim | Hope In 38 Tommy *deserved not to be* hated (cf. Tommy did not deserve to be loved) | Galsworthy P 6.91 I soon *got not to care* | Swinburne L 158 I may *come not to feel* such unbearable shame as I do now || Thack V 200 before you go, not perhaps to return | McCarthy 2.521 the Prime-minister was too much absorbed in the zeal of his cause not sometimes to run counter to the feelings of men || Mrs. Carlyle in Carlyle F 3.24 I wished to not treat you to more tears.

23.3s. When *do* cannot be used, it is not always easy to see whether *not* belongs to the main verb or the infinitive, as in Sh Merch III. 2.230 My purpose was not to haue seen you heere—where, however, the next line shows that what is meant is 'it was not my purpose to have seen you here', and not 'it was my purpose not to have ...'. In the spoken language the use of *wasn't* [wɔznt] in one case, [wəz ˈnɔt] in the other, will now at once make the meaning clear.

Don't let us is the idiomatic expression, where logically it would be preferable to say *let us* with *not* to the infinitive (an injunction not to ...): Thack P 2.213 Do not let us, however, be too prodigal of our pity. U. S. vg Let's don't go (Krapp).

In the old construction without *do* we see sometimes the same attraction of *not* to *let*: AV John 19.24 let not vs rent it | BJo 3.183 let not my behaviour seem rude | Congreve 255 let not the prospect of worldly lucre carry us beyond your judgment.

While now *not* is always in natural language placed before

the infinitive it belongs to, there is a poetic or archaic way of placing it after the infinitive, as in Wordsw 131 one object which you might pass by, Might see and *notice not* | By 396 a continuance of enduring thought, Which then I can *resist not* | Caine C 59 God bless you, my son, ... and when He smiles on you, may the frown of a man *affect you not*.

The negative is sometimes placed with *seem* instead of the following infinitive: Swift 3.69 he looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual | Kennedy CN 69 We don't seem to have the fun we used to | Lewis MA 57 You young people don't seem to think much of prayer. —Cf. *hadn't better* 12.4$_1$.

If a negative enters as a part of the P in a nexus-object (ch. II), the auxiliary *do* is not, of course, used:

Swift 3.176 I found myself not very well: S V O(S P(4^{n}32)) | Di D 779 I found it not difficult to divert his attention | Hankin 2.125 Your reputation is ruined. And that makes you not a fit husband for Margery | Galsw Frat 251 something ... which proclaimed her not a lady || Lamb R 61 when she found the girl not there—different from "did not find the girl there"; cf. above "found her gone" 1.7.

23.3₉. In many cases *I don't think he has come* and similar sentences really mean 'I think he has not come'; though *I hope* (*expect*) *he won't come* is more usual than the less logical *I do not hope* (*expect*) *he will come*, which according to Joyce (Ir 20) is usual among the Irish, who will say, e. g. *It is not my wish that you should go to America at all*, by which is meant the positive assertion: 'It is my wish that you should not go',—as well as *I didn't pretend to understand what he said* for 'I pretended not to understand'.

A careful speaker will always distinguish between *I didn't tell them that I should come* and *I told them that I should not come*. Yet we find occasionally sentences like Bennett LR 211 I don't feel I can stand it much longer.

23.3$_{10}$. Note the distinction between *I don't suppose* (*I am not afraid*), where the main nexus is negatived, and *I suppose not* (*I am afraid not*) where the nexus is positive, but the object (a whole clause understood) is negative; how old is this use of *not* for a whole clause? Examples: Congreve 121 I'm afraid not | Di D 92 Whether it ever came to my knowledge? I believe not directly.'—'Well, you know not' | id N 311 'I am afraid you can't learn it.'—'I am afraid not' | ib 590 can you bear the thought of that? No, I should imagine not, indeed! | Trollope D 2.81 'I should not mind.' 'I dare say not, because you have nothing particular to say.' 'But I have something particular to say.' 'I hope not.' 'Why should you hope not?' | Kipling L 217 I'll tell the boys.—Please not, old man | Conway C 1 I believe I asked him to hold his tongue.—He says not.

Inversely we have a negative adverb standing for a whole main sentence, *not that* meaning "I do not say that" or "the reason is not that" as in Sh Cæs III. 2.22 Not that I lou'd Cæsar lesse, but that I lou'd Rome more | Bunyan P 113 Not that the heart can be good without knowledge | Di D 95 he never took the pains with me—not that I was anybody—that Mr. M. had taken | Kipling J2 168 he [a jackal] was the lowest of his caste—not that the best of jackals are good for much | Wilde In 212 Not that I agree with everything I have said in this essay. See further under Clauses, 21.8$_5$.

When we say ("He'll come back") *Not he!* it is not really *he* that is negatived, but the nexus, although the predicative part of it is unexpressed; the exclamation is a complete equivalent of *He won't!* (with stress on *won't*). Examples (after || with the oblique form used as a modern (vulgar or half-vulgar) 'disjointed' nominative):

Sh H4A I. 2.153 Who, I rob? I a theefe? Not I | Tp III. 3.42 | Err V. 420 | Bunyan P 142 Let us go

see. Not I, said Christian | Carlyle S 169 Were I a Steam-engine, wouldst thou take the trouble to tell lies of me? Not thou! | Di X 30 Meg don't know what he likes. Not she! | Galsw F 255 They wouldn't touch us ... Not they | GE M 44 'It'll perhaps rain cats and dogs to-morrow.' 'Not *it*' | Bennett W 1.263 Do you think it will last long?—Not it! || Wells V 338 We shan't hang upon any misunderstanding. Not us | Austen S 269 you were all in the same room together, were not you? 'No indeed! not us.'

Negative Attraction.

23.41. While the preceding section has shown the universal tendency to attract the negative to the verb even where it logically belongs to some other word, there is another tendency to attract the negative notion to any word that can easily be made negative. In colloquial language the former is the stronger tendency, but in literary English the latter often predominates because it yields a more elegant expression. Thus to the colloquial "we didn't meet anybody" corresponds a more literary "we met nobody".

In the following sentences the negative really belongs to the nexus and should therefore be placed with the verb; note especially the tag-question in the last sentence (*have we?* as after a negative *we haven't got*): Scott Iv 89 those of thy tribe give nothing for nothing [= don't give anything for nothing] | Collins W 375 she was in no state to bear any fresh anxieties | Gilbert 90 she loves you so well that she has the heart to thwart you in nothing | GE M 2.114 we've got a glass of nothing in the house, have we?—Cf. also the examples vol. II 16.74.

This is particularly frequent with *need:* Swift T 25 of ladders I need say nothing | Goldsmith 24 you need be under no uneasiness | Scott A 1.63 ye need say noth-

ing about that foolish story.—Cf. with a comparative: Swift J 461 I need tell you no more | Di N 125 We need detain you no longer.

Note also Di P 408 The Prince remained to hear no more. He fled the spot | Galsw D 101 to be able to do nothing [= unable to do anything] without hurting someone | Benson D 50 you and I will go to the smoking-room, and talk about nothing at all subtle [= something that is not subtle] | Norris P 183 I'm no Bear any longer [= am a Bear no longer]; cf. also Storm E Ph 694.

This tendency leads to the use of combinations like *he was no ordinary boy* in preference to the unidiomatic *he was a not ordinary boy;* for examples see vol. II 16.751.

23.42. Whenever there is logically a possibility of attracting the negative element to either of two words, the tendency is to join it to the first. We may say "*no one ever* saw him angry" or "*never* did *any one* see him angry", but not "*any one never* saw him angry" nor "*ever* did *no one* see him angry". Instead of "*no* woman would *ever* think of that" it is impossible to say "*any* woman would *never* think of that".

23.43. When the negative is attracted to the subject, the sentence is often continued in such a way that the positive counterpart of the first subject must be understood. In ordinary life such sentences will cause no misunderstanding. Examples: Marlowe T 1560 Not one should scape, but perish by our swords [= but all perish] | Sh R3 I. 3.213 I pray him That none of you may liue his naturall age, But by some vnlook'd accident cut off | Bunyan G 147 none of them are hurtful, but loving and holy [= but they are . . .] | Merriman V 265 no man may judge another by looking down upon him, but must needs descend into the crowd | Jacobs L 51 Neither spoke, but lay silently listening [= both lay] | Benson D 2.130 Don't let any of us go to bed to-night, but see the morning come | Galsw P

2.51 Nobody'll get anything till eight, and then [they'll get] only cold shoulder.

We find the same phenomenon with *few*, as that, too, has a negative purport:

Johnson R 40 few of the princes had any wish to enlarge their bounds, but passed their lives in full conviction that they had all | Mulock H 2.152 Few thought of Jessop—only of themselves [= they thought only of ...].

Similarly in the following quotations: *forget* = 'do not remember'; *unfrequented* = frequented by (of) no one: Di N 607 I forget, without looking back to some old letters, whether it was my great grandfather | Carlyle R 2.317 I quite forget the details, only that I had a good deal of talk with him | Wilkins P 67 the house vnfrequented, onely of their owne householde.

23.44. *And* with a negative infinitive means the same thing as *without -ing*. This is perfectly natural in positive sentences (a), but there is a growing awkwardness about the construction in the following groups: negative sentences (b), interrogative sentences, generally equivalent to negative statements (c), and negative interrogative sentences (d); the sentence in (e) is, strictly speaking, quite unanalyzable. In (b) "I couldn't see you, and not love you" *couldn't* refers at the same time to *see you*, and to *not love you;* the expression is unimpeachable if we substitute: "Impossible (to see you and) not to love you". But it is difficult to apply the same test to all our quotations.

(a) Sh Alls II. 5.91 Strangers and foes do sunder, and not kisse | Sh Lr I. 1.288 that glib and oylie art, To speak and purpose not.

(b) Defoe M 93 he hoped I would not want money and not tell him of it | Di D 570 I couldn't see you, and not love you | Merriman S 13 [we] Can't bury the poor chap and say nothing about it | Hardy W 265 I must not stay here and do nothing || Stevenson A 84 no

one can read it and not be moved | Harraden F 54 No one could have had such a splendid old father as I have, and not believe in the people || Dreiser AT 1.101 they had scarcely anywhere else they could go and not be recognized.

(c) Bunyan P 68 how can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a traitor? | Richardson G 28 Who can touch pitch and not be defiled? | Shelley 457 how Shall I descend, and perish not? | Ward E 244 But oh!—what we can bear and not die!

(d) Otway 224 May not a man then trifle out an hour With a kind woman and not wrong his calling? | Hardy W 270 why can't you marry me, and live here with us, and not be a Methodist preacher any more? || Bennett LR 396 Haven't you been receiving them every day, and not saying anything about 'em?

(e) NP 1911 I'm doing just as little as I can and not be punished [= without being punished].

Double or Cumulative Negation.

23.51. It seems to be a universal rule in all languages that *two negatives make an affirmative, if both are special negatives attached to the same word;* this generally happens in this way that *not* is placed before some word of negative import or containing a negative prefix. But the result of the whole expression is somewhat different from the simple idea expressed positively. Thus *not without some doubt* is not exactly the same thing as *with some doubt; not uncommon* is weaker than *common*, and *not unhandsome* (Kipling L 246) than *handsome*, the psychological reason being that the *détour* through the two mutually destroying negatives weakens the mental energy of the hearer and implies on the part of the speaker a certain hesitation absent from the blunt, outspoken *common* or *handsome*. "Tis not vnknowne to you, Anthonio" (Sh Merch I. 1.122) = 'you are to some extent

aware'.—Assertion by negative of opposite is a common feature of English as spoken in Ireland (see Joyce Ir 16): "this little rasher will do you no harm" meaning it will do you good, "Paddy Walsh is no chicken now" meaning he is very old, etc. This is really on a par with "not untragical", "not unentitled to speak", "not unpromptly", etc. which abound in Carlyle (EStn 6.388); with him *not without* has become quite a mannerism for which he is taken to task by Sterling: not without ferocity, not without result, not without meditation, etc. etc.

23.5₂. The result is also positive if we have *a nexal negative* with *an implied negative*, as in *I do not deny*. But cases like Lat. *non possum not amare* are rare in English; Bennett Imp P 482 You're rich. And you can't not be rich | Elizabeth Exp. 25 you can't not make much of her. Petting's what she wants.

The negation of words like *nobody* resulting in the meaning of 'everybody' (*nemo non videt*) will be treated below, 23.7_6.

23.5₃. *Apart from these cases a repeated negative means, not an affirmative, but a negative.* Here we must separate different classes in which the psychological explanation is not exactly the same.

(1) In the first place we have instances of *double* (*or treble*) *attraction*. In many languages, in which the ordinary negative element is slight in phonetic bulk, it becomes habitual to attract it not only to the verb but to any other word that can easily take it, so as to prevent its being overlooked. This is not really illogical, but a simple redundancy comparable to an emphatic repetition in a positive statement (every and any, always and on all occasions, etc.). The speaker spreads, as it were, a thin layer of negative colouring over the whole of the sentence instead of confining it to one single place. Thus in Greek, various Slavonic and Romanic languages, in Magyar, etc. (Negation, p. 66 f.). In

German and English this repetition becomes rarer after the fuller-bodied negatives *nicht* and *not* have been thoroughly established; the logic of the schools and the influence of Latin also had some share in restricting this particular redundancy.

But repetition was the regular idiom in OE:

Luke 9.36 *ne* sædun *n*anum men on þam dagum *n*an þing | Boeth 102.7 *ne n*an neat *n*yste *n*ænne andan *ne n*ænne ege to oðrum. In the same way in ME, e. g. Lay 2.296 for *n*is *n*auere *n*a man iboren i *n*auere *n*are burhȝe | AR 222 *n*o mon *n*ule don ham *n*o good | Ch A 70 He *n*euere yet *n*o vileynye *n*e seyde In al his lyf unto *n*o maner wight | Recluse 200 *n*e takeþ *n*oþing to holde of *n*oman *n*e of *n*o womman, *n*e *n*oither of the seruauntz *n*e bere *n*on vncouþ tales.

Early ModE examples of double negation:

Caxton B 48 the harneis was hole, and *n*ought dammaged of *n*othyng | id R 38 whan he coude *n*owher *n*one see | ib 84 *n*e *n*euer shal *n*one be born fairer than she | More U 238 they *n*euer make *n*one with anye nacion [none i. e. leagues].

In Elizabethan English this particular kind of repeated negation is comparatively rare [while resumptive accumulation, see below, is frequent]; from Sh I have noted three instances only: Ro III. 1.58 I will *not* budge for *no* mans pleasure, I | Tw II. 1.171 I haue one heart, one bosome, and one truth, And that no woman has, *n*or *n*euer *n*one Shall mistris be of it, saue I alone | R2 V. 70 where *n*o man *n*euer comes (quartos, but folio *euer*) | Bøgholm has one from Bacon: he was *n*ever *n*o violent man.

The rarity is probably due to to the fact that the ordinary negation at that time was the comparatively bulky *not*, which had not yet dwindled down to the less conspicuous *-n't*. It can hardly be accidental that I have no examples from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, when

Goldsmith has an isolated example V 2.196 George never left the kingdom, *nor never* was married | Pegge († 1800) mentions this kind of "luxuriance" among the cockneys (I *don't* know *nothing* about it) and says that he has heard in Yorkshire, "No, I shall *not* do *no* such thing" and that a citizen is said to have enquired at a tavern, "if *nobody* had seen *nothing* of *never-a* hat *nowhere's?*" From the 19th century on examples abound, put in the mouths of vulgar speakers (sometimes, no doubt, with some exaggeration of a tendency ridiculed at school, however natural in itself): Di D 19 *Nobody never* went and hinted *no* such a thing, said Peggotty | id Do 279 all he [the butler] hopes is, he may *never* hear of *no* foreigner *never* boning *nothing* out of *no* travelling chariot | Thack P 3.85 We *never* thought of *nothing* wrong | GE M 1.327 There was *niver nobody* else gen [gave] me *nothin'* | Hardy W 23 I *can't* do *nothing* without my staff | Shaw C 24 you *wont* like to spar with *nobody* without youre well paid for it | Zangwill G 209 *No* compensation *nowhere* for being cut off | Herrick M 87 you *won't* lose *nothing* by it | ib 89 there *won't* be *no* hung jury.

[Totally different is Marshall Sorry Scheme 23 I can't talk about nothing in an airy manner—nothing = 'trifles', cf. Mackenzie C 105 [girls] laughed at nothing and gossiped about nothing].

23.54. (2) A second class comprises what may be termed *resumptive negation*, the characteristic of which is that after a negative sentence has been completed, something is added in a negative form with the obvious result that the negative effect is heightened. In its pure form the supplementary negative is added outside the frame of the first sentence, generally as an afterthought, as in Carlyle P 179 unless it were a demon that made this universe, which I, for my part, do at no moment, under no form, in the least believe | Maugham HB 390 I wouldn't let you touch me, not if I was starving | ib

473 I didn't like to, not after what happened. Cf. also Locke S 174 You'll do no such thing, not till you've told me about the flat. But as no limits of sentences can be drawn with absolute certainty, the supplementary negative may be felt as belonging within the sentence, which accordingly comes to contain two negatives.

23.5₅. The most important instances of this class are those in which *not* is followed by a disjunctive combination with *neither ... nor* or a restrictive addition with *not even:* "he cannot sleep, neither at night nor in the daytime | he cannot sleep, not even after taking an opiate" | Bunyan P 80 he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know ..., etc.

After *nor* resumptive *not* was formerly frequent: Sh Merch III. 4.11 I neuer did repent for doing good, Nor shall not now | id Ven 409 I know not loue (quoth he) nor will not know it | Swift J 61 Nor you shall not know till I see you again | Wordsw P 8.451 nor shall we not be tending towards that point | Hazlitt A 23 I cannot live without you—nor I will not | Swinburne SbS 42 For the life of them vanishes and is no more seen, Nor no more known [probably in imitation of the Elizabethans].

The negation is very emphatic in Sh As I. 2.30 loue no man in good earnest, nor no further in sport neyther.

23.5₆. Here we place instances, which were formerly frequent, of loosely appended *neither:* Dekker F 999 I would not haue you belieue it neither (continued: No more we doe not, which belongs to 23.5_3) | Sh Hml II. 2.321 Man delights not me; no, nor woman neither | Osborne (p. ?) your story, which I am not apt to beleeve neither (also ib 68, 75, etc.) | Defoe R 2.47 they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither | Goldsm V 1.46 I could see no reason for it neither | Austen M 25 I hope things are not so very bad with you neither | Ruskin P 1.53 I had no

companion to quarrel with neither (thus often in Ruskin) | Shaw C 147 Miss C. might not think it any great recommendation neither.—Here *either* is now preferred: Benson D 10 Maud, tell the boy he need not wait. You needn't either, unless you like.

Similar negative afterthoughts: Osborne 71 yet I should not like the imployment by noe mean's | Goldsm 657 I'll not be made a fool of no longer.

It is perhaps in consequence of the scholastic disinclination to repeated negation that some modern writers use *even* instead of *not even*, as in Shaw 1.182 I *cannot* give my Vivie up, *even* for your sake | Galsw WM 16 he's never creative, even by mistake | Wells Inv 30 he made no difference between Sunday and the irreligious days, even in costume.

23.57. A case of special interest is with *hardly* in combination with a preceding negative word, which is felt to be too absolute and is therefore softened down by the addition. Examples (none in Shakespeare): Defoe R 50 it gave us not time hardly to say, O God! | Swift J 372 and nobody hardly took notice of him | Cowper L 1.154 nothing hardly is welcome but childish fiction | GE A 197 I've never hardly known him to miss church before | Darwin L 2.39 that no one has hardly a right to examine the question of species who has not minutely described many | Hardy R 192 Who was there? Nobody hardly | Hope Q 119 nobody hardly understands criticism as badly as you do | Shaw D 194 you cant hardly tell who anyone is | Kipling S 192 He wasn't changed at all hardly | Wells H 112 they don't seem hardly able to help it | Bennett T 354 I don't hardly care to stay.

Examples of *scarce(ly)* after a negative:

Bacon A 3.24 the servant tooke them not, nor would scarce looke upon them | Swinburne T 137 me not worthy scarce to touch thy kind strong hand | Ward E 411 There is not a yard of it, scarcely, that hasn't been made by human hands | Morris N 129 but no one scarcely could throw himself down.

Hardly and *scarcely* are also used after *without* and other indirect negatives: Byron DJ 5.66 The black, however, without hardly deigning A glance at that | Thack V 476 without scarcely hearing a word | Norris P 52 refusing to acknowledge hardly any fiction that was not classic | Read Toothpick Tales 17 I'll be dinged if I hardly know.

23.5₈. (3) Closely connected with resumptive negation is what might perhaps be termed *paratactic negation:* a negative is placed in a clause dependent on a verb of negative import like 'deny, forbid, hinder, doubt'. The clause here is in some way treated as an independent sentence, and the negative is expressed as if there had been no main sentence of that particular kind. It is well known how this develops in some languages to a fixed rule. In English it is by no means rare even in good writers, though generally looked upon as an error by grammarians: Sh R3 I. 3.90 You may deny that you were not the meane Of my Lord Hastings late imprisonment | Bacon A 43.34 we have forbidden ... that they doe not shew any naturall worke | Lamb E 2.185 What hinders in your own instance that you do not return to those habits | Darwin L 3.69 it never occurred to me to doubt that your work ... would not advance our common object in the highest degree.

23.5₉. (5) I collect here several partly heterogeneous instances of confusion in negative sentences, which I found some difficulty in placing. Sh (cf. Al. Schmidt, Sh.-lex. p. 1420) Wint III. 2.57 wanted lesse impudence [had less i. or wanted i. more] | Cymb I. 4.23 a begger without less quality [with less q.] | Cor I. 4.14 nor a man that feares you lesse then he [fears you more].

Later instances of a similar character: Swift P 21 few of them seem to be excellent in their kind, and have not much variety | Austen P 133 he can have nothing to say to me that anybody need not hear [= that anybody may not hear; that it is necessary that nobody

hears] | NP 1899 there was none too poor or too remote not to feel an interest | Huxley L 1.118 a married man cannot live at all in the position which I ought to occupy *under less than* six hundred a year | Priestley A 48 you're ... stopped before there's no harm done.

Sometimes a writer begins his sentence with the intention of continuing it in a positive form and then suddenly changes the form of his expression: Wells V 258 People, nobody, can do as they like in this world | id Sleeper 203 Ostrog—no one—can take the responsibility.

The confusion is somewhat similar to the one found when an enumeration of things that are wanting ends with *no nothing* (no paper, no pen, no ink, no nothing), which is meant as a negative of *everything:* Carlyle F 4.223 no milk in the house! no nothing! Freeman: Is there a level crossing thereabouts? 'No, sir. No crossing, no road, no path, no nothing', said the porter, ruthlessly sacrificing grammar to emphasis.

NED *help* 11 c says "Often erron. with negative omitted (*can* instead of *cannot*), e. g. I did not trouble myself more than I could help | your name shall occur again as little as I can help". But it would certainly be impossible to add *not* before *help;* the difficulty lies in the meaning of *help;* note that where in England it is usual to say "I could not help admiring her", Yorkshire men and Americans will often prefer the negative expression with *but:* "I could not help but admire her".

Seldom or never and *seldom if ever* are blended into *seldom or ever*, which is said to be frequent where the influence of the school is not strong; Ellis in Trans. of Philol. Soc. 73 4.12 Seldom or ever could I detect any approach to a labial.

The Meaning of Negation.

23.61. A linguistic negative generally changes a term into what logicians call the contradictory term (A and

not-A comprising everything in existence) and is thus very different from a negative in the mathematical sense, where—4 means a point as much below 0 as 4 (or + 4) is above 0. This general rule, however, requires some very important qualifications.

23.62. With quantitative terms *not* nearly always means 'less than': *not much* (money) = little (money); *not many* (people) = few (people); *not lukewarm* = 'between cold and lukewarm', just as *not good* means 'inferior', but does not comprise 'excellent'.

Thus with numerals: He does not read three books in a year | the hill is not two hundred feet high | his income is not £ 200 a year | he does not see her once a week.

This explains how *not one* comes to mean 'none, no', and *not one thing* 'nothing' (OE *nan* = *ne-an*, whence *none* and *no*, OE *nanþing*, whence *nothing*). Cf. also Tennyson 261 That *not one* life shall be destroy'd ... That *not a* worm is cloven in vain.

23.63. When *not* + a numeral is exceptionally to be taken as 'more than', the numeral has to be strongly stressed, and generally to be followed by a more exact indication: the hill is not 'two hundred feet high, but 'three hundred | his income is not 200, but at least 300 a year | Sh Merch I. 1.42 My ventures are not in one bottome trusted | Locke S 321 Not one invention, but fifty—from a corkscrew to a machine-gun | Defoe R 342 not once, but two or three times | Gissing R 149 books that well merit to be pored over, not once but many a time | Benson A 220 he would bend to kiss her, not once, not once only. Cf. the water was not *luke*warm, but really hot.

But *not once or twice* always means 'several times', as in Tennyson 220 Not once or twice in our rough island-story The path of duty was the way to glory.

While the two sentences "he spends £ 200 a year" and "he lives on £ 200 a year" are practically synon-

ymous, everything is changed if we add *not:* "he doesn't spend £ 200 a year" means 'less than'; "he doesn't live on £ 200 a year" means 'more than'.

In the proverb "Rome was not built in a day" (where *a* is the old numeral and equals *one*) the meaning, of course, is that it took more than one day to build Rome. Cf. You can't do that in two hours; it will require at least three.

Where a numeral is not used as a point in an ascending scale, its negative is really contradictory; "the train doesn't start at seven" says nothing about the actual time of starting, which may be either before or after seven. But "he won't be here at seven" implies "we can't expect him till after seven", because an arrival before 7 o'clock would naturally imply his being here also at that hour.

23.64. As *half* is a numeral, *not half* generally means 'less than half': *the bottle is not half full.* In slang, *not half bad* means, however, 'not at all bad, quite good'. In the following quotation, *not half-alive* (with strong stress on *half*) means 'more than half alive', as shown also by the continuation: Bennett C 1.285 At any rate she was not half alive; she was alive in every particle of herself. In the same way, in rustic speech, *she didn't half cry* means that she made a tremendous noise (Wright, Rustic Speech 117). *We didn't half enjoy ourselves* = 'immensely', similar expressions are frequent in Ethel Mannin's books | Brett Young PC (p. ?) By Jove, mun, you haven't half made yourself beautiful | Farjeson No. 17 Hungry?—Not 'arf! [= exceedingly].

Not quite the average generally means 'below the average'; sometimes, however, *average* is taken as a depreciating epithet, and then the negative may be appreciatory: Dewey, School and Soc. 61 Here is another piece of work which is not quite average; it is better than the average.

23.65. *Not above 30* means either 30 or less than 30.

But *less than 30* may in English be negatived in two ways: *not less than 30* means either 30 or more than thirty, and *no less than 30* means exactly 30, implying surprise at the high number. "He has not less than ten children"—I am not certain of the exact number, but it is at least ten. "He has no less than ten children"—he has ten, and isn't that a large family? *No more than three* = 'three only'; *not more than three* = 'three at most', vol. II 16.83 ff. and Stoffel, Studies in English 87 ff.

There is really no perfect negative corresponding to *as rich as*, comprising both 'richer' and 'poorer', for *not so rich as* excludes 'richer' and means 'less rich'.

23.6₆. We may arrange the following terms into a descending scale:

1. much (money)	many (people)	very (intelligent)
2. a little (money)	a few (people)	a little (intelligent)
3. little (money)	few (people)	little (intelligent)

While here 2 is decidedly positive, 3 approaches a negative; note the frequent combination as in Sh John IV. 3.3 There's few or none do know me | there is little or no danger | there have been few or no attacks lately. *Little* like other negatives may be placed before the verb, chiefly *know, think, care* (NED examples as far back as 1200): By DJ 5.1 They little think what mischief is at hand | Hope R 205 he little knew the cause of what he saw.

The quasi-negative *little* is found not only with verbs and adjectives but also with nexus-substantives: Austen M 55 reading in their minds their little approbation | Carlyle R 1.294 as he or I had little interest in that.

Little and *few* mean 'less than you would expect', *a little* 'more than you would expect': Unfortunately little is left of the former splendour | Fortunately a little is still left of the former splendour | Unfortunately, there are few who think clearly | Fortunately, there are a

few who think clearly | Sh Merch I. 2.95 when he is best, he is a little worse then a man, and when he is worst, he is little better then a beast.—Note the two adverbs *but little, but few—only a little, only a few.* Shakespeare has *a few* in some places where now *few* would be used (see Al. Schmidt).

Little is exceptionally positive in the proverb: Love me little and love me long. The positive quality of *a little, a few* can be strengthened by *quite:* quite a little = 'a good deal': Wells Br 264 in quite a little time Mrs. Britling's mind had adapted itself. This is especially frequent in U. S.

Now if we try the negatives of these we discover that negativing 1 turns it into 3: *not much (money) = little (money); not many (people) = few (people); not very intelligent = little intelligent.* But a negative 2 becomes nearly synonymous with 1: *Not a little (money) = much (money); not a few (people) = many (people); not a little intelligent = very intelligent.*

Examples of *a few* and *a little* negatived:

Sh H8 I. 2.18 I am solicited not by a few, And those of true condition [= by not a few] | Lr I. 1.286 Sister, it is not a little I haue to say, Of what most neerely appertaines to vs both [Q not a little, F not little] | Bunyan P 147 At which they were not a little sorry | Allen in First 46 it gained me at once the friendship of not a few whose friendship was worth having | Ruskin Sel 1.410 a phenomenon which puzzles me not a little.—*Not few* is rare: Strachey QV 262 the points of contact between them [the Queen and her epoch] were not few.

23.71. If we lengthen the series *much—a little—little* in both directions, we get on the one hand *all (everything)*, on the other hand *nothing.* Whatever comes in between them is comprised in the term *something,* and we may now arrange these terms in this way, denoting

by A and C the two absolute extremes, and by B the intermediate relative:

A	B	C
all (n.) everything	something	nothing

and correspondingly

all (pl.)	some	none
everybody	somebody, some one	nobody, no one
all girls	some girls (a girl)	no girl(s)
all the money	some money	no money.

In exactly the same way we have the adverbs:

always	sometimes	never
everywhere	somewhere	nowhere.

Let us now consider what the result is if we negative these terms. A negative *A* means *B:*

not all, not everything = something,
not all, not everybody = some,
not all girls = some girls,
not all the money = some (of the) money,
not always = sometimes,
not everywhere = somewhere.

This amounts to saying that in negativing an *A* it is the *absolute* element of *A* that is negatived. Thus always when the negative precedes: Tennyson 222 We are not cotton-spinners all, But some love England and her honour yet | they are not all of them fools | Galsw FM 61 Life isn't all roses, Ralph | AV Mat 7.21 Not euery one that saith vnto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heauen | I do not look on every politician as a humbug | Wells Br 325 Not all Hugh's letters were concerned with these technicalities | Mason R 179 it seemed that not all the pallor was due to the lamp | he is not always so sad.

23.7₂. When a negatived *all* in this sense is the subject, we may have the word-order *not all* before the verb as in the three last sentences just quoted, but very often *all* is placed first for the sake of emphasis, and the negative is attracted to the verb: Ch G 962 But al thing which that shyneth as the gold Nis nat gold | Ch B 2708 but every man may nat have the perfeccioun that ye seken | Sh Merch II. 7.65 All that glisters is not gold | Lr II. 4.199 All's not offence that indiscretion findes, And dotage termes so | AV 1. Cor. 6.12 All things are lawfull vnto mee, but all things are not expedient | Walton A 106 every one cannot make musick | Bosw 2.11 I maintained that certainly all patriots are not scoundrels | Johnson R 152 every one is not able to stem the temptation of public life | Goldsmith 20 As every person may not be acquainted with this pastime | Mi PL 1.106 and Shelley 119 all is not lost | Byron 436 But all men are not born to reign | Lamb E 1.103 All Valentines are not foolish | Harraden S 62 every one is lonely, but every one does not know it | Wilde R 3 For each man kills the thing he loves, Yet each man does not die | Wells Br 281 All our men aren't angels.

23.7₃. On the other hand, when a word of the *A*-class (all, etc.) is placed in a sentence containing a special negative (or an implied negative), the result is the same as if we had the corresponding *C*-word and a positive word; thus the assertion is absolute:

all this is unnecessary = nothing is necessary,
everybody was unkind = nobody was kind,
he was always unkind = he was never kind,
everybody fails = nobody succeeds,
he forgets everything = he remembers nothing.

The same effect in Di D 376 The one [= uncle] I was always going to write to. And always didn't, eh! [= never did].

23.74. The difference between the two possible results of the negation of a word like *all* is idiomatically expressed by the contrast between two adverbs, as seen in

he is *not altogether* happy (Sh Wiv I. 1.175 I am not altogether an asse)—result B;

he is *not at all* happy (he is *not* happy *at all*)—result C.

Cf. in questions: Wells PF 93 her face. Had it changed at all? Was it altogether changed?

There is a third possibility, when *not* is for the sake of emphasis put before *all* in the sense of 'not even', though it should properly go with the verb as a nexal negative; *all* here means the sum of ... (Cf. the distinction made in vol. II 5.4 between "all the boys of this form are stronger than their teacher" (if working together) and "all the boys of this form are able to run faster than their teacher", (i. e. each separately). Thus Sh R2 III. 2.54 *Not all* the water in the rough rude sea Can wash the balme from an anoynted king | Defoe Rox 257 not all the things we call pleasure could give me any relish | Brontë W 117 When the time comes, not all the angels in heaven shall save him! | Bennett B 17 not all Mr. Racksole's American energy and ingenuity would have availed. Cf. with nexal negative Sh R3 I. 2.250 On me, whose *all not equals* Edwards moytie | Thackeray P 557 All the money in the world won't make you happy then | Bennett P 248 It will be the loveliest mystery that ever was, and all the police in the world won't solve it.

23.75. When a word belonging to the *C*-class is negatived, the result belongs to class B. In the frequent idiom *not for nothing* = 'not in vain' or even 'to good purpose' as in Sh Merch II. 5.25 it was not for nothing that my nose fell a bleeding on blacke monday last | Kipling J2 66 Not for nothing have I led the pack | Hope Ch 190 she would not have done so for nothing | Raleigh Sh 42 he was not the eldest son of his father for nothing.—It is more usual to place the two negatives in two sentences as in "one cannot say that noth-

ing is finer" (= something is finer) or at any rate in an infinitival combination as in Locke S 285 "It's not good for a man to have no gods" (= it is good to have some gods). Here too the result belongs to class B.

23.7₆. Inversely the result is A when one of these words is followed by a word with a negative prefix or with implied negative meaning:

nothing is unnecessary = everything is necessary,
nobody was unkind = everybody was kind,
he was never unkind = he was always kind,
nobody fails = everybody succeeds,
he forgets nothing = he remembers everything.

When the negative is a separate word, the result is the same; but such sentences are generally avoided because they are not readily understood; it is rare to find combinations like Thack N 55 not a clerk in that house did not tremble before her (= all the clerks trembled) | Locke S 228 no other man but you would not have despised the woman (= every other man would have despised). There is, however, no difficulty if the two negatives are placed in separate sentences, as in "There was no one present that did not weep" (= everybody wept); here *that not* is often replaced by *but*, *but that*, *but what*.

The ordinary treatment of both A- and C-words when negatived may be brought under one general rule: when the absolute notion (A or C) is mentioned first, the absolute element prevails, and the result is the contrary notion (A ... not = C; C ... not = A). If on the other hand, *not* comes first, it negatives the absolute element, and the result is the intermediate relative (not A = B; not C = B).

23.7₇. Here we shall mention some peculiarities in the use of E. *must* and *may*. A prohibition means (1) a positive command to not ...; thus: *you must* (positive) *not-take that* (negative); and (2) the negative of a

permission: *you may-not* (negative) *take* (positive) *that*. But in (1) we have the usual tendency to attract the negation to the auxiliary, and thus we get: *you mustn't take that*, which never has the sense of 'it is not necessary for you to take that' (negative *must*), but has become the ordinary prohibitive auxiliary. On the other hand, in (2) we have the competition with the usual combination of (positive) *may* + negative infinitive, as in "He may not be rich, but he is a gentleman" (see below); this makes people shrink from *may-not* in a prohibition. So to the positive "we may walk on the grass" corresponds regularly a negative "we mustn't walk on the grass".

The old *may not* in prohibitions, which was extremely common in Sh, is now comparatively rare, except in questions implying a positive answer (*mayn't I* = 'I suppose I may') and in close connexion with a positive *may*, thus especially in answers: Sh Lr IV. 5.16 'I must needs after him' ... 'Stay with vs' ... 'I may not' | Err III. 2.92 such a one, as a man may not speake of, without he say sir reverence | Marlowe E 939 You may not in, my lord. May we not? | Congreve 249 Mayn't my cousin stay with me? | Di X 17 how it is that I appear before you I may not tell | Hope D 59 Mayn't I see the dodges? | ib 90 May not I accompany you? | Hardy R 73 Perhaps I may kiss your hand?—No, you may not | Wells U 303 they may study maps beforehand ... but they may not carry such helps. They must not go by beaten ways.

Positive *may* and negative *must not* are frequently found together: Ruskin T 102 Your labour only may be sold; your soul must not | Stevenson A 26 Prose may be rhythmical, and it may be as much so as you will; but it must not be metrical. It may be anything, but it must not be verse | Hope R 86 I mustn't kiss your face, but your hands I may kiss | Shaw 2.251 You may call me Dolly if you like; but you musnt call me child.

May is thus used even in tag-questions after *must not:* Austen S 62 I must not tell, may I, Elinor? | Di D 16 'You mustn't marry more than one person at a time, may you?' 'Certainly not.' 'But if you marry a person, and the person dies, why then you may marry another person, mayn't you?' 'You MAY, if you choose'.

On the other hand, *must* begins to be used in tag-questions, though it is not possible to ask *Must I?* instead of *May I?* Thus: GE M 2.50 I must not go any further, must I? | Caine P 136 I suppose I must not romp too much now, must I?

Must I not? means 'I must [necessarily]': By 627 Must I not die? | Hawthorne Sn 53 It has been a wilderness from the Creation. Must it not be a wilderness for ever? | Hardy R 292 Must I not have a voice in the matter, now I am your wife?

I may add here a few examples of *may* denoting possibility with a negative infinitive (*you may not know* = 'it is possible that you do not know'); in the first two quotations *not* is attracted to the verb: Hughes T 2.222 you mayn't know it, but ... | Locke W 269 What may be permissible to a scrubby little artist in Paris mayn't be permitted to one who ought to know better | Shaw 1.16 newcomers whom they may not think quite good enough for them | Hope D 91 I may not be an earl, but I have a perfect right to be useful.

23.7₈. Here we may place some instances in which positive and negative are seemingly used interchangeably.

After the question *do you* (or *would you*) *mind?* the answer (= 'I will') may be either *yes* (*certainly*) or *no:* Maugham Pl 4.92 Would Lord P. mind going down and asking him to come here?—Certainly, certainly | ib 4.50 Do you mind if we talk it over now?—No | ib 4.116 I wonder if you'd mind looking at my knee for a minute. —Of course not.

23.7₉. Vulgar speech has a curious exclamation *I*

don't think, = 'well, I declare', 'certainly not!' or 'that's the limit': Crofts Ch 117 Two hundred pounds. I don't think! | Cole Corpse 44 Lord, that's a good one, I don't think | Rose Macaulay O 148 No one is going to be left behind. I don't think! (This was a vulgar expression she had picked up from the Orphans). NED has a quotation from the Pickwick Papers. Cf. also EStn 71. 437.

Chapter XXIV.

Requests.

24.11. The most important division of human utterances from a purely notional point of view, apart from their grammatical form, seems to be into two classes (cf. PhilGr p. 302).

A. Those in which the speaker does not want directly to influence the will of the hearer of hearers. Here we class not only ordinary informative sentences and exclamations, but also such wishes as 'God save the King!', etc. With regard to this class it is immaterial whether there is a hearer or not: such an utterance as 'What a nuisance!' is the same whether it is spoken in soliloquy (as a pure 'ausdrucksäusserung') or to someone else.

B. Those which aim at influencing the will of the hearer or hearers, i. e. at making him do something. These may be termed comprehensively requests, which may range from brutal commands through many intermediate steps (demands, injunctions, implorations, invitations) to the most modest and humble prayer (entreaty, supplication). An important class of requests is formed by questions, which will be dealt with in Ch. XXV. Here we shall take those requests only which are not questions.

The specific syntactic expression for a request is the *imperative*, the proper meaning of which is a request (brutal or humble) to the hearer(s) to do something. Exceptionally it may express a wish: *Sleep well!* (*Farewell*). But it is often used for a permission: *Take that* (*if you please*).

Form of the Imperative.

24.1₂. OE distinguished between a singular (*help*, *freme*, *sealfa*) and a plural (*helpaþ*, *fremmaþ*, *sealfiaþ*), but before the pronoun *ge* the *þ* tended to disappear, the subjunctive form *helpe ge* being used. In ME the use of the *th*-form was preserved, but this use (e. g. in Ch) was more and more uncertain, and the tendency was to leave it out, e. g. Ch C 586 Redeth the Bible, and fynde it expressly | G 384 Caste alle ... And armeth yow (also ib 388) | D 1227 Now chese yourselven | ib 1232 Cheseth yourself | MP 3.1135 Now telleth me | ib 1143 tel me al.

For further ME details see v. d. Gaaf, ESts 9.15. Malory has e. g. 733 doth as it shal please yow, but he uses *-th* also in addressing one person (Baldwin § 182).

In ModE this *-th* has disappeared, and the imperative now is in form identical with the infinitive and with the present subjunctive. We shall see some consequences of this falling together.

Person.

24.1₃. The proper sphere of the imperative is the second person (singular or plural). On the imperative without any subject expressed or with *you* (*thou*) placed before or after it, or between *don't* and the infinitive, see vol. III 11.8₃ and 8₄.

In many languages we have special forms for the first person plural, and this is quite natural because the first

person plural is not really the plural of I in the same way as *horses* is the plural of *horse: we* = 'I + some one or some ones else', thus may be = 'I + thou or ye' (PhilGr 192).

The first person plural of the imperative thus means 'do you ... as I intend to', and is an injunction to the other(s) to join the speaker in some particular action.

In English the formerly usual expression was *go we* with original subjunctive: Marlowe T 329 looke we (cf. ib 321, 324) | Sh H5 I. 1.95 Then goe we in | ib II. 4.48 Thinke we King Harry strong | ib II. 2.174 Touching our person, seeke we no reuenge | Hml V. 1.245 Couch we a while | Wordsw P 2.258 but return we to our course | Coleridge 117 Praise we the virgin all divine | Di Do 292 turn we our eyes upon two houses | Browning 1.424 Leave we ... Leave we ... wind we up the heights.

24.14. In ordinary language this is replaced by *let us go*. This contains the imperative *let* [2nd person] + an infinitival nexus, as in Ch B 3187 Lat no man truste on blynd prosperite | Sh Merch III. 2.43 Let musicke sound while he doth make his choise. In Ch it seems to mean 'allow (suffer) us to' in MP 5.492 have doon and let us wende, but in other places it has definitely the modern meaning. Both constructions side by side: Ch B 1413 lat us heere a messe, and go we dyne! | Sh Hml I. 1.32 Well, sit we downe, And let vs heare Barnardo speake of this.

I do not remember any previous grammarian noticing that *let us* is contracted into *let's* (vg [les]) only if the meaning is imperative 1st person plural, but not otherwise, thus not if *let us go* = 'allow us to go, cause us to go', as in *let him go*. The writing *let's* is found in Sh LL V. 2.228 If you denie to dance, let's hold more chat, also Tp I. 2.57, etc., frequent in later writers.

24.15. Corresponding to *let us* we have the deliberative 'let me see', in which the speaker, as it were, ad-

dresses himself as a 'second person'. Thus a writer may interrupt himself: Let me express myself more distinctly: . . .

NED *let* 14b has some quotations for *let we, let you* (or *thou*) *and I* before the infinitive. As the pronoun is virtually the subject, this encroachment of the nominative cannot be termed unnatural; in Dutch it has become a fixed idiom: *Laten wij* (*we*) *gaan*. In Progr § 156 (p. 190 f.) = ChE § 54 I comment on AV Gen 31.44 let vs make a couenant, I and thou | Roister 21 Let all these matters passe, and we three sing a song | Hughes TB 3 Let you and I cry quits, and similar passages.

For the negative *let us not go, don't let us go*, see above 23.3_8.

In the speech of Irish people *let* is curiously used in the second person also: let you go to the right = 'go . . .' | let ye prove it (Joyce Ir 81) | Synge Plays [T] 14 Let you be making yourself easy | ib 24 Let you walk out through that door | ib 225 Let you not be talking too far and you old itself (frequent in Synge).

24.1₆. Further we frequently find the imperative with a third person as the subject. Sometimes this may be considered a vocative, as manifested by the comma some modern editors insert, e. g. in Sh Err V. 165 Go (,) some of you, knocke at the Abbeys gate, but the real explanation is that *some* (*one*) always refers to those present, and thus = 'some (one) of you' (2nd person):

Sh Merch IV. 1.14 Go one and cal the Iew into the court | H6B IV. 8.68 Go some, and follow him | Hml I. 1.70 and tell me, he that knowes, why . . . | Wiv IV. 2.121 Somebody call my wife | Fielding 3.575 Tell me, somebody who can speak, . . . what is the matter? | Di D 403 Oh, but do tell me, though, somebody | ib 423 no one stop me! | ib 726 Don't congratulate me,

anybody! | Meredith R 353 My brougham's here. Someone arrange my shawl | Jerome T 30 Now, you get a bit of paper and write down, J., and you get the grocery catalogue, George, and somebody give me a bit of pencil | Kipling L 128 open the window, some one | Shaw J 219 Oh please someone go in and tell MB | Shaw StJ 101 Hallo! Someone come and shut the windows | Lawrence L 134 Oh, for goodness sake, say something somebody, cried B. fretfully | Locke HB 258 Please don't anyone get up.

The reference to *of you* (pl.) is often expressly indicated:

Fulg 57 One of you go loke who it is | Marlowe F 1108 One of you call him forth | Sh Ro V. 3.173 Go some of you (also R2 IV. 1.268 and ib 316) | Hml II. 2.36 Go some of ye, And bring the Gentleman where Hamlet is | Merch IV. 1.147 Some three or four of you Go giue him curteous conduct to this place | Di P 202 Take away his gun, do you hear, somebody? | Bennett PL 147 And don't any of you highbrows go trying to alter it | Stevenson T 38 Search him, some of you shirking lubbers, and the rest of you go aloft and get the chest | Shaw StJ 62 Do not think, any of you, that these victories of ours were won without generalship.

A little differently in Kipling J1 94 So long as he is away do thou or one of the four brothers sit on that rock | Ridge S 36 Go upstairs, two of you, commanded Mr. Thorpe. Two others give Baker a help with that door. Someone look after this woman and the kid | Di N 562 and bring out my hat, somebody, will you | id OT 216 Open the door, somebody. . . . Do you hear, somebody?

24.17. A passive imperative is not frequent, but may occur: BJo 3.52 Away, and be not seen | Sayers NT 43 Do come along and be looked after.

The imperative always refers to the future, often the immediate future. But on the possibility of a per-

fect imperative (*have done, let us have done*) see vol. IV 7.4(2).

Relation to Infinitive.

24.2₁. As the imperative is formally identical with the infinitive, it may by the actual speech-instinct be felt as such; cf. the frequent tag-question Take a seat, will you | Have another cup of tea, will you? (won't you?) | Maugham Pl 3.186 Make yourselves at home, won't you? | Swinnerton S 201 "Don't stay long, will you," urged Mary | Plunket Greene E 221 But let's look at the thing from another angle, shall we? || Di P 366 Be quiet, can't you? || Bennett LR 111 Now, let me hear something about the personnel, will you?

24.2₂. When we say *Do come!*, are we then to take the forms as two parallel imperatives or as the imperative *do* with a dependent infinitive? NED *do* 30a says: "the main verb is in OE found both in the Infinitive and the Imperative; the Imperative is usual in early ME; in later use the forms are indistinguishable, but it is usually viewed as the Infinitive."

The form is distinctly imperative in OE John 8. 11 do ga & ne synga þu næfre ma (vade et amplius iam noli peccare) and ME Juliana 39 Do swiðe sei me.

It seems more possible to take the second verb as an imperative if there is a pause or some word or words between the two, thus in Ch D 853 Do, dame, tel forth your tale, and that is best [it is important to note that Ch does not usually have *do* as an auxiliary] | Sh Mids III. 2.237 I [= aye], doe, perseuer, counterfeit sad lookes, Make mouthes, . . . | Johnson in Bosw 2.38 Do, my dear love, write to me | Fielding T 3.251 do pray, sir, for your own sake, take it into your consideration | Sheridan 189 Do, Mrs. Candle, follow her | Austen P 352 And now do, when you get to town, find them out | Shelley L 534 Do you, dearest and best, seek happi-

ness where it ought to reside | Swinburne L 156 do, for God's sake, think of your own honour | Hope Z 64 But do you, Marshall, and Colonel Sapt, wait here till I have ridden fifty yards | Shaw TT 41 Do, to please me, give her an inoculation.

The present feeling that the second verb is an infinitive is of course strengthened by the frequent use of the negative: *Don't come* and *Do come* are felt as parallel.

24.2₃. Something similar happens with *please*. In Greene FB 8.156 But please your honour go unto the lodge—*please* may be imperative or subjunctive, *your honour* object or subject, *go* imperative or infinitive. Other examples, some of them with parenthetical *please:* Marlowe J 956 please you walke in with me | Sh Tp V. 318 please you draw neere | Maxwell EG 399 Elaine, don't, please, desert us. Do please stay with us | Ruskin Sel 2.58 you will also please take it on my word to-day | Ward M 237 Don't please exaggerate | P. T. O. = please turn over.

(On *please* without a subject see vol. III 11.8_1).

Note, however, that *please* generally has an infinitive with *to:* Ward F 175 Will you please to come in? | Please not to interrupt!

24.2₄. Also after *I pray you* we may sometimes take the base either as an imperative or an infinitive. The former is shown by the form in Ch B 307 I pray yow loketh wel (cf. ib 4592). But later the forms are identical (and *you* may be nominative or oblique). In Sh Mcb III. 4.54 Pray you keepe seate (and ib III. 4.108, 117, IV. 2.15) the folio has no comma after *you* as modern editions have (cf. also Merch III. 2.1, H5 V. 1.51). Thus in a modern example: Southey L 40 I pray you take care to make no blunder—*you* may be the object of *pray* or the subject of *take*, which may be either the imperative or the infinitive.

Similar doubts are found in parallel sentences. In

Marlowe F 276 I charge thee wait vpon me whilst I liue—Ward in his edition p. 152 takes *wait* as an infinitive without *to*, but it may just as well be the imperative. Cf. further Sh Wiv I. 1.71 I beseech you be ruled by your well-willers | Cowper L 1.256 I beseech you ride, and ride often | Peacock M 170 I ought not to describe him.—I entreat you do | Ward E 186 I beg you will not try.

Pseudo-Imperative.

24.31. An imperative may be addressed to an imaginary indefinite second person (a generic person, as it were), rather than to anybody present: Sh Hml I. 2.187 he was a man, take him for all in all | Austen M 372 but take it all in all, he was convinced that . . . | Ruskin P 2.79 there was no sign, take all in all, of gain to my health | Ward D 3.121 I have from 60 to 80 men now in the printing-office—a good set, take them altogether | Benson DB 72 Take it all together, the talk was hardly a success | Stevenson M 160 Take him altogether, he was a pleasant-looking lad | Walpole OL 120 She was not, take her life from first to last, a cruel woman || in a dependent clause: Butler Er 89 I thought that, take them all round, I had never seen their equals.

Here we may perhaps place *say* introducing an approximate indication: I shall pay you say £ 10.

Never mind, which is very often used as a real imperative, may also be employed as a pseudo-imperative: Lowell St 173 a fact is to Mr. Masson a fact, never mind how unessential.

Cf. also *fancy* as in Maxwell W F 71 Fancy you having noted it.

24.32. A special case of particular interest is the use of imperatives as notionally equal to a conditional clause; the consequence is often introduced by *and*.

Cf. for other languages Brugmann, Verschiedenheiten ... 53. And see 21.5_1.

Examples: Greene J4 415 Spoyle thou his subiects, thou despoylest me; Touch thou his brest, thou doest attaine this heart | Sh Hml II. 2.555 vse euerie man after his desart, and who should scape whipping? | Tro I. 3.109 Take but degree away, vntune that string, and hearke, what discord followes | R2 I. 1.183 Take honor from me, and my life is done (cf. also Sh As III. 2.305, III. 5.21, IV. 1.162, R2 II. 1.300, Cor III. 1.40, Cymb I. 4.139) | Defoe P 326 and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance | Swift P 75 Touch a gall'd horse, and he'll wince | Goldsm 660 Ask me no questions, and I'll tell you no fibs | Sheridan 298 give these fellows a good thing, and they never know when to have done with it | Carlyle H 78 See deep enough, and you see musically | Di X 181 Take care how you carry that box. Let it fall, and I'll murder you | Trollope A 97 Take away from English authors their copyrights, and you would very soon take away from England her authors | Meredith E 91 Know one Frenchman and you know France | Galsw Ca 822 Give a thing a decent label, and it is decent | Shaw StJ 52 Scratch an Englishman, and find a protestant (cf. the old: Scratch a Russian, and you will find a Tartar) | Bromfield ModHero 218 Talk of the devil and he'll appear (the same uncompleted in Swift P 55 Talk of the Devil—).

24.3₃. This imperative may be preceded by *once* and *only:* Sh Oth V. 2.10 but once put out thy light ... I know not where is that Promethean heat | Quincey 81 Once leave this house, and a Rubicon is placed between thee and all possibility of return | Carlyle FR 425 an Alpine Avalanche; which, once stir it, will spread | Ruskin T 114 a strange notion that once give a lad a good

education, and he cannot but come to ride in his carriage | Ward E 461 Once part them—and the game is up | Kaye Smith T 5 Once get a Duke to come to the place and everybody else will follow || Birrell O 34 he [Darwin] tells us how little curly worms, only give them time enough, will cover with earth even the larger kind of stones.

24.3₄. The conclusion, too, may be expressed in an imperative: Swift P 182 Love me, love my dog | Spare the rod, and spoil the child | Stevenson T 83 Spoil foc's'le hands, make devils.

This construction may be found in a dependent clause: Sh Cymb I. 4.140 | Southey L 66 The proof is, that, read him thus, and he becomes everywhere harmonious | Browning 1.285 And is it not the bitterer to think That, disengage our hands and thou wilt sink.

The use of *you* as indirect object shows that the addressee of the imperative is not any person or persons present: Richardson G 34 Give you women but rope enough, you'll do your own business.

In some early instances we have a subjunctive rather than an imperative: AR 174 go þet wit ut þe herte geð ut efter.—But ib 62 Ablinde þe heorte, heo is eð ouercumen—is distinctly an imperative.

24.3₅. The conclusion may be in the preterit (chiefly indirect speech or imaginative): Sterne 38 'twas easy to keep him silent when you had him so; but set his tongue a-going, you had no hold of him | Thack V 277 whereas, put him at Iffley Lock, and he could out-slang the boldest bargeman | Di X 10 He could have walked faster, perhaps, most likely; but rob him of his trot, and Toby would have taken to his bed and died | id M 384 When they had taken their laugh off, which did not happen very soon, for, give John an inch that way, and he was sure to take several ells | Meredith E 294 I'd have found her out, give me the chance [i. e. if I had been given the chance] | Gissing H 216 Give him

time, and he was generally equal to the demands of suburban customers; hurry or interrupt him, and he showed himself anything but the man for a crisis | Trollope A 229 Rouse him [Charles Lever] in the middle of the night, and wit would come from him before he was half awake | Butler W 249 Grant him his premises and his conclusions were sound enough.

24.3ϐ. Pseudo-imperatives are very frequent with *let:* Sh R2 I. 1.58 Setting aside his high bloods royalty, And let him be no kinsman to my liege, I do defie him | Bunyan P 216 let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a thief | Swift J 162 We must have peace, let it be a bad or a good one, though nobody dares talk of it | Di N 88 Let any boy speak a word without leave, and I'll take the skin off his back | Shaw J 128 let one of the brothers marry, and they all [the sisters] turn on their unfortunate sister-in-law | Walpole Jeremy 110 Let him catch the faintest glimpse of a shadow of a sailor in the street and he was after it | Maugham Alt 1518 She had gone of her own free will. Let her find her own way back | Cronin H 350 Only let them be alone together, the mother and the son, and he felt she would soften any hardness in his heart.

The chief employment of this pseudo-imperative *let* is in some generalizing addition (*who* or *what you will, ever so* or *never so*, etc.) as an equivalent of a concessive clause ('clause of indifference'). This, too, is found in connexion with a preterit. The construction is akin to "go where he will, he will ..." (see infinitive 12.6). Examples: Eastw 438 let the season be whatsoever, let trade goe how it will, wee take all in good part | Dekker F 1735 let a man pay them neuer so much, theile giue him nothing but the bag | Osborne 101 tis most certain that, lett the husband bee what hee will, if the wife have but patience ... the disorder cannot be great | Bunyan G 25 without which there could be no way of salvation, let a man be never so devout | Defoe G 45

Let his father be what he will, his merit will make a gentleman of him | id M 285 [they would have] disclosed the secret let it have been of what fatal nature soever | Fielding 4.135 when any man gives up the possession of a woman, let his motive be ever so generous, he will disoblige her | Cowper L 1.266 Let our station be as retired as it may, there is no want of playthings and avocations | Carlyle H 65 they must have seen what kind of a man he was, let him be called what you like! | id in Fox 2.28 the thing [the Cromwell book] will not stir from the spot, let me shove it never so desperately | GE M 1.121 I was to have the best bonnet at Garum church, let the next best be whose it would | ead Mm 127 a persuasion that, let Mary say what she would, she really did care for him | Hope Z 273 Fritz would not hear of abandoning me, let me have ordered what I would | Allen W 67 he said to himself, let come what come might, he must never aid and abet that innocent soul.

Through these pseudo-imperatives we understand that some imperatives pass into prepositions or conjunctions: Swift UL 31 I assure you, that *bar* accidents I will be in Trim in a fortnight | Doyle St 80 at eleven there was a fight at the "White Hart"; but bar that all was quiet enough | Vachell H 40 you are the silliest idiot I ever met, bar none | Ruskin C 197 *Suppose* a farming proprietor needs to employ a hundred men on his farm.

Can *save* be reckoned an original imperative (cf. F *sauf*)? On *suppose*, etc., see Clauses 21.5_{10}.

24.37. Note the idiomatic *let alone* = 'not to mention, far less (or more)': This does not seem to occur before the 19th c. Note the various constructions with adverb, infinitive, ing, etc. Examples: Brontë W 227 Are you cherishing the notion that anybody, let alone Miss Linton, would have you for a husband? | GE A 25 she's too good for any man, let alone me | Thack H 98

this repast, which I could not touch, for, let alone having dined, my heart was full of care | Quiller-Couch M 268 it seemed to him, that, let alone the mystery of the singer, he had never heard a voice so wonderful | Aldrich S 50 I can scarcely afford to drink water, let alone beer | Hope C 107 I'm not in the habit of beating women at any time, let alone at a lunch-party | Locke HB 94 you haven't even heard of the war, let alone doing anything for your country | Wells V 125 Life's hard enough for an unprotected male. Let alone a girl | id JP 352 It is not only the boys one must educate, but the parents—let alone one's self | Galsw Ca 924 He had never owned even a white mouse, let alone a white elephant | Shaw TT 95 pretty ladies brightening up the hospitals and losing their silly heads, let alone upsetting the men | Savage OW 77 Dick would have stood no such nonsense once, let alone many times | Priestley B 187 I've had weeks of it, when it's a bother to breathe, let alone get up and wash and do your hair and dress and eat | Bennett B 240 I didn t expect to see the Prince alive again—let alone conscious, and able to talk | Cronin H 91 I never gave him a word in anger, let alone lifted my hand to him in punishment | Dreiser AT 2.39 he had no additional, let alone plausible, excuse | Joyce Ir 201 'Can he read a Latin book?'—'Read one! Why, he can write Latin books, let alone reading them' || Rarely as in Stevenson C 65 here is enough evidence to hang a bullock, let bè a David Balfour.

Similarly *leave alone* and *leave out:* Mackenzie C 435 [vg, dial] an old cliff that any ornary man wouldn't want to look at twice, leave alone days at a stretch | Maynard Smith F 94 what have you done to earn bread and butter, leave out cherry brandy, to-day? | ib 156 I've never run away from anyone in my life, leave out the police.

The idiomatic expression *Come to think of it* could scarcely

be considered an imperative; it has arisen through prosiopesis from 'if you come ...'. See 16.1₂ and vol. III 11.8₇₃.

24.3₈. A request can be expressed in various other ways than by means of an imperative, thus very frequently in the form of a question: 'Will you post this letter for me (please)?' Often also in the form of an ordinary declarative sentence, where the tone is the only thing that shows that it is to be understood as a request: 'You'll pack at once and leave this house.'

On ordinary questions as containing really a request see next chapter.

Chapter XXV.

Questions.

25.1₁. There are two kinds of questions: "Did he say that?" is an example of one kind, and "What did he say?" and "Who said that?" are examples of the other.

In the former kind—**nexus-questions**—we call in question the combination (nexus) of a subject and a predicate. We may therefore continue with the negative counterpart: "Did he say that, or did he not (say that)?" and thus make it into a disjunctive or alternative question. The answer to a simple nexus-question is *yes* or *no* (qualified if necessary by *probably* or some such word; note *probably* (*perhaps*) *not*); the answer to a disjunctive question like "Is it black or white?" or "Did he drink sherry or port?" is one of the two alternatives (or else "neither").

In a simple nexus-question it is therefore of little importance whether the verb is given in a positive or negative form. In offering a glass of beer we may say either "Will you have a glass of beer?" or "Won't you have a glass of beer?"

This, however, is true of unemotional questions only; a marked tone of surprise will make the two sentences into distinct contrasts: for then "Will you (really) have a glass of beer?" comes to mean 'I am surprised at your wanting a glass of beer,' and "Won't you have a glass of beer?" the reverse. "Won't you pass me the salt?" may thus imply unwillingness in the person addressed and therefore is less civil than, "Will you pass me the salt?" Very often one of the two forms is chosen to suggest a particular answer, thus "Isn't that nice?" comes to mean 'That is very nice.'

Note especially tag-questions in colloquial speech to obtain confirmation, like: He was angry, wasn't he? | He wasn't angry, was he? | You feel cold here, don't you? | He didn't take long to decide that, did he?

Thus a negative question after a positive statement, and vice versa. "You wouldn't do it, would you?" = 'I suppose you won't do that.' "You wouldn't do it, would you now?" = 'I hope you won't.' Such tag-questions are different from repetitions to emphasize a question, e. g. Caine C 389 Oh, it's you, is it?

An obsolete form is seen in Roister 37 We asked not. —No did? | Sh John IV. 2.207 thou hadst none [no cause] to kill him.—No had, my Lord, why, did you not prouoke me?

25.1₂. In questions of the second kind we have an unknown quantity x, exactly as in an algebraic equation; we may therefore use the term **x-questions.** The linguistic expression for this x is an interrogative pronoun or pronominal adverb. The pronouns are seen in these examples: Who said that? | Which of the boys said that? | Which boy do you mean? | Which do you like best, tea or coffee? | Which way shall we turn? [i. e. to the right or to the left?] | What did he say? | What woman was bold enough to say that? | Whose child is he?

These pronouns are distinguished in a different way

from the same forms when used relatively (vol. III ch. VI): *which* asks for one (or more) out of a restricted number, while *who* and *what* ask indefinitely (see vol. II 7.82 and 7.744).

On the obs. *whether* as a pronoun = 'which of two' see vol. II 7.741. A late example is Swift 3.96 in full view of a great island or continent, (for we knew not whether).—On its use as a conjunction see vol. II 7.742 and vol. III 2.4_4 and 4_7. It forms as it were a link between the two kinds of questions.

While *what* as a primary is always neuter, it may (like *which*) be put as an adjunct to all kinds of words. The question "What is he?" refers to character, office, place in society, or the like, while "Who is he?" asks about his identity.

On these pronouns as primaries (principals) and as secondaries (adjuncts) see vol. II 16.5.

Who has from the oldest times often been used in the plural: Who are these women? vol. II. 6.45.

What as a plural is later, the oldest example in NED is 1560 What are the names of the men?

On *who* and *which* as common number (Who came? | Which do you choose?) see vol. II 5.54.

25.1₃. While *which* and *what* have no case-distinction, *who* has, or rather had, a whole system, OE nom. *hwā*, acc. *hwone*, dat. *hwǣm*, *hwām*, gen. *hwæs*. The last-named is continued as *whose*. In ME the original dative displaced the old accusative (just as *him* displaced *hine*), and thus we had a nominative *who* and an oblique *whom*. From about 1500 *who* came to be used instead of *whom*, see Progr § 171 f. = ChE § 69 ff. with many quotations from Marlowe, Sh, Addison, Dryden, Sheridan, Thack, Di, etc. Two additional early quotations: Fulg 66 But yet know I not who ye mene | Gammer 114 Who haue we there. In many cases modern editors print *whom* where the old editions of Sh have *who*.

Examples from reputable writers from the latter half

of the 19th c. and from the 20th c. abound. Sweet says 'I think many educated people never use *whom* at all.' NED: *who* ... 'used ungrammatically for the objective *whom*,' quotations from 1450 on; *whom* ... 'The objective case of *who:* no longer current in natural colloquial speech.' Fowler MEU: 'the interrogative *who* is often used in talk where grammar demands *whom* .... No further defence than 'colloquial' is needed for this.' As usual he disregards the practice of good writers. The natural reaction to the teachings of grammarians is well illustrated by a remark in Sapir's Language 166 ff. ... careful to say "Whom did you see?" but we feel a little uncomfortable (uncomfortably proud, it may be) ... secretly wishing they could say "Who did you see?" ... "Who did you say?" ... Cf. also Shaw TT 158 it doesn't matter who you marry.—Whom, not who.—Oh, speak English: youre not on the telephone now.

A hyper-correct *whom* is found e. g. in Di F 320 [the author:] no matter who spoke, or whom was addressed | Brontë P 104 ever thine—thou well knowest whom | Stevenson T 171 Someone was close behind, I knew not whom | Walpole GM 172 "They're engaged". "Whom?" cried Aunt Aggie, ungrammatically | Mallock in Collingwood R 101 Whom am I that speak to you?

25.14. It is interesting to note that the tendency to use *who* is strongest when the pronoun is immediately followed by a verb. Thus also when a preposition is placed at the end: who is that letter from? | who are you speaking of?, etc.

But if the pronoun immediately precedes some other word, *whom* is felt to be more natural (though not exclusively used). Thus even when orthodox grammar would require the nominative: GE S 148 she had determined to leave Nancy her ornaments, let Gilbert's wife be whom she might | Collins M 5 General Baird announced ... that any thief detected in the fact, be he whom he might, should be hung | Caine C 422 then I

know whom you are | Walpole F 138 She did not know whom this strange young man might be | id SC 435 She gave a little cry, not seeing whom it was ... Then she saw who it was.

This explains that *who* in the oblique function is less frequent in relative than in interrogative sentences.

25.15. When a preposition is placed last *who* is quite regular: Sh As III. 2.327 Ile tell you who Time ambles withall, who Time trots withall, who Time gallops withal, and who he stands stil withal | BJo A 4.185 and 5.129 Who would you speak with? | Gay BP 146 who do you take us for? | Swift J 140 Who do you think t'other was from? | Defoe R 317 Who must we yield to? | Goldsm 668 Who does it come from? ... Do you know who it is from? | Keats 5.180 Who have you smil'd with? | Austen P 39 Well, Jane, who is it from? | Lamb R 28 who are those peaches designed for? | Wilde W 12 But who are you talking about? | Bennett T 380 Who are you going to?

But: Sh Merch V. 1.193 If you did know to whom I gave the ring, If you did know, for whom I gave the ring.

If the preposition comes before the pronoun, *whom* is often used by writers who otherwise do not scruple to use the oblique *who;* cf. especially Shaw TT 154 [journalist:] Who does this shop belong to? I mean to whom does this shop belong? | ib 156 You can get married if you wish.—[she:] Who to?—[he:] To whom? Oh, anyone | Goldsm 638 My son is going to be married to I don't know who, that is ... Married! To whom, sir?

Even in this position, however, we find *who:* Sh Ado I. 1.214 hee is in loue, With who? | Cymb IV. 2.76 yeeld thee, theefe.—To who? to thee? | Sterne M 1.76 A history! of who? | Austen P 356 I am going to Gretna Green, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you a simpleton | Di N 62 What do you think of him?

—"Think of who?" inquired Mrs. Squeers; who (as she often remarked) was no grammarian, thank Heaven | Browning 2.145 Tried ... A fortnight since by who but the Governor? | Wells C1 161 How the devil are we to get at them? ... Get at who, said I, in the London idiom.

Examples of *who* followed by its preposition in incomplete sentences: Gissing H 195 I have heard something.—Who from? | Hardy F 109 Valentine! who for, miss? | Hope Q 4 I owe money.—Who to? | McKenna SM 200 I heard yesterday that she'd run away. I wasn't told who with | Walpole GM 133 She's engaged.—Who to? || Jerome Tommy & Co. 71 Who to?—You mean 'to whom' || Farnol A 274 she fell in love ...—How do you know—who with—where is she—? ... But in love—with whom?

25.1ϵ. The place of a preposition with interrogative pronouns (or adverbs) is roughly regulated by the same tendencies as were formulated in vol. III 10.2 with regard to relative pronouns beginning with *wh:* the natural tendency is to begin the sentence with the pronoun, especially if the preposition is closely connected with the verb: Marlowe J 104 Which of my ships art thou master off [= of]? | Sh As II. 4.30 How many actions most ridiculous Hast thou beene drawne to by thy fantasie | Defoe G 44 What family is he of? | Goldsm 664 But what success has your honour's modesty been crowned with now? | ib 656 What do you follow me for, Cousin Con? | Sheridan 358 till I see what sort of humour she is in | Keats 5.14 What a set of little people we live amongst! | Kipling S 81 What the deuce did you say anything to him for? | Wilde D 78 Where he went to, he hardly knew | Shaw A 170 What are the police for? | id P 290 What hour did you say we were to lunch at? | Aumonier OB 79 Otherwise what was she blubbering about? | Doyle S 5.268 What more could you ask for?

To place the preposition first would be impossible in such fixed phrases as: Defoe G 77 what have we left to boast of in them? | What does it all come to? (or amount to?) | Where have you been to? | What are you up to? | What is he after? Cf. NED *after* 4: Sheridan Riv. V. 2.152 What tricks are you after now? | I asked him what it was all about | Doyle S 6.91 Where does that door lead to? (*To where* would be unnatural) | Note the two positions in Hardy W 235 Whatever did you engage in such a trade as that for?—and Hutchinson Clean Heart 278 Whatever for have I got to believe you're rich? || Note the difference in Stevenson T 48 What do they care for but money? For what would they risk their rascal carcases but money? [*care for* belongs together more closely than *risk for*].

Grammarians whose conception of correctness is largely based on Latin condemn the preposition at the end of the sentence. This word-order is rare in translations: there is said to be no single example in the AV. But in natural colloquial English it is prevalent.

There are, however, cases in which the preposition must necessarily come first in all kinds of style: Sh H4A IV. 3.53 the king Knowes at what time to promise, when to pay | Di D 109 In what respect do these things differ? | Sheridan 322 Good Heavens! to what ebb of taste are women fallen | Under what circumstances shall we succeed? | Of what avail was all her wealth? (literary for: What was the use of . . .) | In how many hours will it be ready? | By what means will you obtain that?

25.17. Examples of *what* preceding its preposition in incomplete sentences: Di F 17 dies . . . What of? | id N 355 I bring a communication.—From whom, and what about? | Shaw J 102 Ashamed! What of? | Hope In 349 Spend it? What on? | Barrie Adm. C 144 he wanted to have a talk with me. He didn't say what

about, but of course we know | Kennedy CN 72 I suppose it's a symptom. What of?

Thus especially *what for:* Di D 94 we gave three cheers—I did not quite know what for | Aumonier OB 99 will you give me some money?—Money! my dear, whatever for? | Bennett LR 274 A nurse! What on earth for?

Hence the frequent phrase, e. g. Galsw WM 166 Well! he had got what-for = 'a beating, or a talking-to'.

The opposite order is also found: Sh Hml II. 1.176 I haue beene so affrighted.—With what? | Brontë V 326 Many present began to wonder for what Monsieur waited.

25.1s. *Like* would naturally be placed last in "What does he look like?" And the same position is found with *as*, which may be considered a preposition: Wells V 66 [at a fancy ball] What could he come as?

Note the Scotticism *what like*, e. g. Maclaren Bonnie Bush 39 he asked us what like hell was. Also in Di F 491 she knows what-like the home, and what-like the friend, is likely to turn out.

The word-order in Sh R2 IV. 1.176 To do what service am I sent for hither?—is purely literary, imitated from Latin.

25.1v. An interrogative pronoun is often placed in the interior of a sentence which is repeated as a request to supply something which has not been understood in the preceding speech. Here *what* may even stand for a finite verb: Defoe G 44 he has all the quallifications of a — Of a what? of a scoundrel! | Sheridan 301 His liberty is all he asks.—All who asks, Mr. Puff? [= I ask who is he talking about?] | Di P 582 "Oh! don't, Mr. Weller."—"Don't what, my dear?" said Sam | Barrie LM 133 'To-morrow's the sabbath, and so a lost day'.—'A what?' exclaimed Gavin, horrified | Hope D 7 'You're so very elliptical.'—'So very what, Mr. Car-

ter?' | Bennett W 2.24 "After all that dinner?"—"All what dinner?" | ib 2.29 "That's one of 'em".—"One of what?" | id B 177 I found him embalming a corpse—"You what?" Babylon almost screamed | Shaw StJ 101 Did it hurt much?—Did what hurt much?—Being burnt | Tarkington F 88 Perhaps she'll go if you let her walk with her arms round your neck.—If I what? [= what did you say after the words 'if you'?] | Wilde Im 13 Besides, Mr. Worthing has not quite finished yet.—Finished what, may I ask | Galsw P 12.57 Father, can't you— ?—Can't I what?—Can't you come to an arrangement? | Shaw 2.124 Will he forgive me?—Forgive you for what? | Bennett B 73 Don't ring the bell if you value your life.—If what?

In this way we may even have two interrogative words together:

Di D 274 "Are they, though?"—"Are they what? And are who what?" | Trollope W 127 won't you tell me what it is?—What what is, my dear? | Wells H 135 "You are what we want", said Agatha.—"What who want?" asked Lady Harman | Galsw IPh 209 Why are you doing this?—Why am I doing what? | Hope Ch 258 "That's why".—"Why what, child?"—"Why I'm ashamed". | Rose Macaulay P 172 Aren't they?—Aren't who what?—Isn't every one saying that Arthur ...? | Maugham Alt 487 "I say, what's that?"—"What's what?" | Wallace Reporter 135 "The only thing I cannot understand is why the chauffeur has not disappeared?"—"Why the what?"

But this really asks about one thing only: 'What is your question about?'

Question Strengthened.

25.21. A question is often emotionally strengthened by a (strongly stressed) addition after the interrogative word. This often is a subjunct as e. g. What (how, etc.)

on earth, in creation, in the world, under the sun, in the name of commonsense (of reason, of fortune, of wonder). This may even be inserted after *what*, etc., in cases like Mackenzie S 726 What on earth good am I? (also Shaw TT 216) | Doyle B 217 what on earth the better off should we be for that? | Bennett Acc 187 But how on earth far is it? | Lindsay CA 243 What on earth sort of excuse?

25.2₂. The strengthening is often done by *ever* written either separately or together with the pronoun or adverb (as it always is when the combination is indefinite-relative). This, of course, is different from the use of *ever* with its full signification in a question, 'at any time', as in Sh Ado IV. 1.132 Why euer was't thou louelie in my eies? | Mi A 52 who ever knew truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter? | Di D 104 What should I ever do without you? | GE Mm 235 What have I ever done that you should use me so? | Seeley E 63 Who ever thought of inquiring ... | Shaw D 38 how can I ever thank you?

The 'empty' *ever* does not seem to have come into use till about the middle of the 19th c. (Fitzedw. Hall, The Nation 24.4.1890 mentions it as a very modern idiom that has, as yet, little currency other than conversational). I add some early quotations and a few of the numerous ones I have noted from recent literature; the spelling *however* is sometimes puzzling: Brontë W 168 however will that weakling live at Wuthering Heights? | Brontë V 226 Well, and how ever did you get him home? | Di D 183 Whatever possessed that poor unfortunate baby, that she must go and be married again, I cannot conceive | id F 726 I don't know how ever I shall go through with it | Hardy F 23 Whatever is the matter? | ib 419 However he came to think of it, I cannot think | Ward F 50 [lady:] And however are we going to repay all that? | Gissing G 131 Why ever are you sitting in your overcoat? | Black F 2.138

"Whatever am I to do!" she exclaimed—her anxiety proving too much for her grammar | Bennett HL 357 Why ever didn't you tell them? | ib wherever have you been so late? | Beresford R 89 And why ever don't you come in? | Walpole Jeremy 39 [servant:] and wherever from did you get the dirty animal?

25.2a. The addition is often in the form of an imprecation. As a transition we may consider such innocent combinations as: what in the name of all powers (Tennyson in L 1.190) | what in heaven's name (Ward M 194, Maugham TL 94) | what in the Name of Wonder (Congreve Old Batchelor 17), what in thunder (Shaw C 77; who the thunder Jerome T 49) | how in perdition (Kipling L 144) | how the blazes (Di P 617; with *in* Chesterton F 35, without *in* Locke A 94) | what the mischief (Kipling L 23, why the mischief Collins M 76) | what-a-vengeance (Gay BP 159) | what a plague (Sh H4A I. 2.51 what a plague haue I to doe with a buffer ierkin?—Why, what a poxe haue I to doe with my hostesse of the tauerne? Also Tw I. 1.1) | how the plague (Dekker Sh IV. 2.51) | who the dagger (Bennett GS 226).

As imprecations we must reckon not only *the* (earlier *a*) *devil*, (*in*) *the hell*, but also *the* (earlier *a*) *dickens* [< devilkins], *the deuce* [? < F *deux* in dice, but understood as = *devil*]. A few of the most characteristic quotations will suffice: Ch G 1238 What, devel of helle! sholde it elles be? | Towneley 17 II. 279 A! what dwill of hell is it? | Sh Wiv III. 2.19 I cannot tell what the dickens his name is? | Tp II. 2.69 where the diuell should he learne our language? | Rehearsal 73 who a Devil is that Volscius? | Congreve Old Batchelor 23 What a dickens does he mean by a trivial Sum? | Swift J 234 but who a deuce can help the weather? | ib 63 But who the Devil cares what they think? | By DJ 5.55 As wondering what the devil noise that is | Kipling L 158 What the devil right have you to inter-

fere? | Maugham TL 109 What the hell good does that do? | Galsw C 274 What the deuce and all made you send that telegram? | Hope King's M 354 What the deuce right had this fellow to make misery repulsive? | Shaw A 85 What the devil business is it of yours | Steinbeck Of Mice and Men 36 What the hell kind of bed you giving us, anyways | Di D [T] 2.110 What the unmentionable to ears polite do you think I want with rouge?

In slang we have an enormous variety of such imprecations.

Archer America To-day (1904) p. 186: "What are you doing?" expresses simple curiosity; "What ever are you doing?" expresses surprise; "What the devil are you doing?" expresses anger—we need not run further up the scale.

25.2₄. A different extension is by such adverbs as *just, exactly, precisely* to enforce the interrogative quality of the pronoun or pronominal adverb so as to make it indisputable that it is not to be taken in a relative sense, cf. vol. III 3.8₇. This has become increasingly frequent from the end of the 19th c. I take it that the custom has evolved from the use before a dependent clause where the pointing adverb at first qualifies the preceding verb: I want to know precisely what happened and how he managed it | Walpole SC 211 I do not know exactly what occurred during that afternoon | Wells N 250 it was open to us to choose just exactly what we would have and just precisely where we would put it | Christie LE 249 I would like everyone to know just exactly how I did it all.

25.2₅. But even in this position the adverb is often rather a part of the interrogative expression: Shelley L 580 May I ask precisely what those motives are | Ruskin P 2.49 I forget exactly where Mr. Severn lived | Beswick OD 109 Blindfolded he could have told you from the sound precisely what each machine was and

the particular operation it was performing | Graves IC 416 But may I humbly enquire precisely what is the character of this glorious change | Christie in BDS 340 she wondered exactly what it could have been that Gerald had said.

This is particularly true of *just:* examples placed in the following sections.

The pointing adverb belongs undoubtedly to the following interrogative: Dine B 22 Just what seems to be the difficulty in the present case? | Walpole C 92 And exactly what do you mean by that? | Tracy P 311 Exactly why did you write it? | Norris O 110 But just what do you propose? [thus in many other places] | Rogers Wine of Fury 220 By just what means do you hope to accomplish all this? | Cather P 266 Just when did you come in?

In a dependent clause: Whitney L 270 Precisely what these suffixes were ... it is not in most cases feasible to tell | Stephen L 46 Exactly when this fanaticism seized him, I cannot tell | EYoung Custody Children 182 he was somewhat in doubt as to precisely wherein he had so gravely offended | Campbell Shl 15 Exactly how many times Trelawny was married, and what became of his wives, nobody knows | Galsw C 149 Exactly why and how this day differs from those that came before and those that will come after, cannot be told | Christie LE 51 That implies a knowledge of exactly where to strike | Maxwell WF 89 Nor was she clear as to exactly what Dr. Laurie had said | Huxley PCP 252 Miss Fulkes tried to explain, as she had done so many times before, just precisely what a map was | Wells V 76 a symbol of just exactly where she stood (often in Wells) | id V 127 to realise just how splendid you are (also often in Wells) | Phillpotts M 331 Let me know just when you want the cart | Christie LE 251 I'm not quite sure now just how it was he spotted me | Graves IC 376 Everyone was wondering on just how much

popular support Germanicus's family could count now | Herrick M 39 I can remember just how they all looked | Norris O 625 trying to see just how far he could go (extremely frequent in Norris and other American writers).

25.2₆. The interrogative placed before the adverb (*just* does not occur in this position): Gissing R 158 But what, exactly do they mean? [Note the comma] | Wells H 165 What exactly has Georgina done? | Galsw WM 285 When exactly do you expect it? | id IPh 161 Of what exactly was he thinking? | Housman J 316 What precisely, sir, to your mind does the phrase convey? | Wells T 2 Now what precisely was Filmer's idea?

In a dependent clause: Benson N 59 he had wondered what exactly Jenny had meant | Wells N 126 the real question remains how exactly are you going to end all these wrongs? | Campbell Shl 108 What exactly she was to do was left undefined | Maugham Alt 89 it was necessary to discover in what exactly it consisted | Hope Q 98 she would not ask why precisely she could not say yes.

Interrogative Adverbs.

25.2₇. The interrogative adverbs call for few remarks: when did it happen? | where did it happen? | how did it happen? *How* here asks about the manner, but when preceding an adjective, etc., it asks about degree: *How old, how far, how much,* etc. "The important thing is not, how old you are, but how you are old."

Where now asks about the place at which and the place to which: where are you going? It may be combined with the prepositions *to* and *from*, generally placed at the end of the sentence. In these senses we had formerly and still have archaically and poetically the forms *whither* and *whence.* Also the pleonastic *from whence,* and † *whencefrom. Where* is made more indefinite by

the addition of *about(s)*. Compounds with other prepositions (*whereafter*, *whereat*, *wherein*, *whereof*, *whereon*, *wherewith*) are chiefly used as relatives and have often lost all reference to local signification; see vol. III 10.6.

Double Questions.

25.3₁. Double-barrelled questions, in which two x-questions are combined, are pretty frequent from old times. Examples:

Ch T 4.1010 To enqueren which thing cause of which thing be | More U 144 In the which game is shewed ... what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues | ib 149 it may be easely iudged in how few howres how much good woorke by them may be doone | BJo A 2.515 He ... do's appoint Who lyes with whom; and at what houre (not in Sh?) | Di L 634 [I] pretended to know who made how much out of them [my books] | Thack N 586 to know ... who was smitten with whom at Vienna | Browning 2.481 which things must—why be? | Ruskin P 1.151 the probabilities of who should sit where | Swinburne SbS 84 Canst thou say ... With what cunning of art Thou wast wrought in what wise, By what force of what stuff thou wast shapen (frequent in Swinburne) | Birrell O 32 What action of what play is more happily conceived than that of Pippa Passes? | Walpole C 427 How many heads looked out of how many windows, the country over, that morning! | Bennett RS 111 Before deciding which drawers should hold which clothes, she laid out some of the garments on the bed.

See on the whole question Schuchardt, Der mehrzielige frage- und relativsatz. Graz 1893.

25.3₂. Double-barrelled questions in repeated questions (cf. 25.1₉): Galsw C 137 But do you think he will?—Think—think who will? Think he will what?

Why can't you express yourself? | Locke SJ 230 Oh, Simon, how could you?—"How could I what?" I cried, unusually regardless of the elegances of language.

25.3₃. But there is really no question about two things in the familiar *to know what's what* = 'to be well informed in general':

[Not in Sh] | Fielding 1.478 When once a woman knows what's what, she knows too much for me | Goldsm 671 | Sterne M 1.206 | Burns 442 | By DJ 12.40 | Di P 419 | Carlyle H 128 | GE M 2.68 | Butler E 216 | Bennett W 2.223.

Similarly with *which* and *who:* Sh Mcb III. 4.127 [the night is] at oddes with morning, which is which (thus 4 times in Sh) | Defoe R 84 I forgot which was which | Austen M 123 | Di T 1.63 | Ruskin F 79 | id P 2.358 you can't mind which sleeper is which || Ch A 4300 she nyste who was who | Swift J 487 I showed the Bishop of Clogher, at Court, who was who.

Hence *Who is who* as the title of a biographical lexicon of important people.

25.3₄. What may be called a question raised to the second power is found when a question is repeated with the intonation of surprise meaning: 'How can you ask that?' Examples:

Sh H4A II. 4.178 Where is it, Iack? where is it?—Where is it? taken from vs, it is | Oth III. 3.308 [Emilia.] ... What will you giue me now For that same handkerchiefe? [Iago.] What handkerchiefe? [Emilia.] What handkerchiefe? Why that the Moore first gaue to Desdemona (cf. Hml II. 1.36) | Austen E 49 and what shall I do?—What shall you do! | Di D 94 "What have I done?"—"What have you done?" (Cf. ib 180, 566) | id Do 58 "Papa! What's money?"—Mr. Dombey was quite disconcerted. "What is money, Paul?" he answered | Caine E 153 What have I done now?—What have you done? Mercy me! | Kipling in NP 1897 "How

do you know?" I asked.—"How do I know?" said Dick | Haggard S 29 What do you make of it?—What do I make of it?

In these instances the repetition is in the form of a direct question, but it may, or might, also have the form of an indirect question: Ch D 2204 Madame, quod he, how thinketh yow her-by?—How that me thinketh? quod she | id MP 5.17 But wherfor that I speke al this? | Di P 101 We want to know who you've got in this house, at present?—Who there is in the house!

25.3₅. A nexus-question raised to the second power generally has the same form as an ordinary question—but this is due to the fact that an indirect question often has that form (vol. III 2.4₈). Here both *can I* and *can't I* may be used as an emphatic positive assertion:

Gammer 148 Will you confesse hir neele?—Will I? no, sir, will I not! (also Greene J4 371; other examples of *will I* vol. IV 15.6(5) f.) | Roister 84 Sayd they so in deede. Did they? yea, euen with one voice | Sh Wiv I. 4.170 if thou seest her before me, commend me.—Will I? i' faith, that we will | Congreve 163 did you give me this letter on purpose?—Did I! do you doubt me . . . ? | Di D 69 "Can you cook the gentleman's breakfast for him?"—"Can I?" said the old woman. "Yes, can I, sure." | id N 559 ". . . you know the boy—Do you?"—"Do I!" returned Squeers. "Don't I?" | Thack N 267 "Can she sing?"—"Can she sing, indeed!" | Caine M 116 You can't catch me.—I can't, can't I? said Philip | Pinero M 147 Do you know who the ladies are?—No—do you?—Do I? They were your mother and aunt Charlotte | Wells JP 300 You remember me? —Don't I just!

I have one old example of *if* as in indirect questions: Caxton R 21 loue ye wel myes? Yf I loue hem wel, said the catt, I loue myes better than ony thyng.

25.3₆. Sometimes the verb only is repeated: Di X 23 "You recollect the way?" inquired the Spirit.—"Re-

member it!" cried Scrooge with fervour; "I could walk it blindfold".

Note the questioning *no?*, obsolete *no is?:* Roister 27 This is not she.—No is? | Di Do 109 "You respect nobody, Carter, I think?"—"No?" inquired Carter. "Well, not many people I believe".

Incomplete Questions.

25.41. In questions incomplete sentences are very frequent: What next? | What about lunch? | What of that, frequent in Sh, = it does not matter, never mind | Marlowe E 1623 Madam, what cheere? | Browning 2.140 And what of clandestine visits? | Kingsley H 132 what use in the old knowledge?

Sh Tw III. 4.79 he sets down the manner how | Ado I. 1.17 | Defoe R 100 if I had known how (also Ru P 2.276, Kipling J2 18, etc.) | Wordsw P 14.416 we will teach them how || Collingwood R 212 practised—with what success can be judged from such drawings | Galsw Ca 258 one day Mrs. G. had a glimpse of why.

Cf. infinitive-questions 20.2.

25.42. Often *what not* after an enumeration, meaning practically 'everything': On the table were books, instruments, pipes, cigars, and what not | Sterne 70 Memory, fancy, genius, eloquence, quick parts, and what not. Many quotations in Negation, p. 24. Also in plural form NJacob G 168 For clothes, boots, and what-nots. Hence *a what-not* = 'a small table to contain many small things'.

25.43. Another common combination is *what if:* What if you had never married? | Sh Ro IV. 3.21 what if this mixture do not work at all? what if it be a poison? | Masefield M 149 What if poetry were a mere antique survival, a pretty toy.

Similarly *what though:* What though they have never asked us to their house, we need not bear them any

ill-will for that | Sh Ven 574 what though the rose haue prickles, yet 'tis plucked | Wiv I. 1.286 but what though? yet I liue like a poor gentleman born | Brontë V 265 What though all was on a small scale, it was the perfume which gave this white violet distinction.

25.44. Very frequent are interrogative sentences consisting of a subject and a predicative without any link-verb: Lamb R 39 Who now so happy as Rosamund? | Quincey 15 Yet who more treacherous and rapacious than he? | Butler ER 27 What more easy than to sell them at C.?

25.45. An elliptical question is found in the familiar phrase *I'll tell you what* (e. g. Sh John III. 3.60, Swift J 79, Di D 255, etc.), in which *what* has approximately the meaning of an indefinite pronoun; cf. *somewhat*. Formerly also *wite ye what* (Ch E 2431), *wot you what* (Sh R3 III. 2.92).

25.46. *What* introducing a question in sentence form: What, shall I find you here?

Also before exclamations: Sh Ado V. 1.132 what, courage, man! In Sh also used alone or with *ho*, when calling somebody: Wiv IV. 2.125 what, wife, I say!

Cf. in OE Beow 1 *Hwæt* as introduction to the epic.

The use of *what* or generally a repeated *what* ... *what* with a preposition (Ch *for*, later most usually *with*, also *between* or *by*) to indicate a complex reason or cause falls outside the scope of this chapter, as *what* is not interrogative.

Exclamations.

25.47. The interrogative words *what* and *how* are frequently used in exclamations, but the word-order generally shows that the sentences are not to be taken as questions: it is the same as in indirect questions and may have developed from them. Note that *how* generally denotes degree, not as in real questions manner.

On the difference between *what* with mass-words (What fun!) and *what a* with thing-words see vol. II 5.213, cf. ib 15.171 on Sh Hml III. 2.380 how unworthy a thing you make on me. *What world is this?* is a question, *What a world this is!* is an exclamation.

Examples of the usual construction: Di P 557 what a curious thing it was that he should have found out | Poe 249 What nonsense you do talk! | Kipling K 357 How I shall laugh with the Colonel! | Wells T 21 What a land it was! | Spencer A 2.139 Would that the world were peopled with such. What a marvellously different world it would be! | Galsw P 2.7 How people can be such fools! | Gissing H 247 and what women one does meet, nowadays! | Shaw StJ 72 What scoundrels these English nobles are | Hope Q 11 You talked to him for nearly an hour.—Yes, how you could! | Mackenzie SA 143 Good gracious me! What minds modern young women have.

Examples with the same word-order as in questions: Sh Merch II. 2.106 Lord, how art thou chang'd | ib II. 3.16 Alacke, what heinous sinne is it in me To be ashamed to be my Fathers childe | Tp II. 1.199 What a strange drowsiness possesses them? | BJo 3.133 what a vile wretch was I | Farquhar B 321 What a rogue is my father! | Defoe G 44 what fool must he be now that they have given him a place! | Goldsm 658 What a fool was I, to think a young man could learn modesty by travelling | Macaulay H 2.209 What a generation of vipers do we live among! | Thack N 180 What a festival is that day to her | What (how great) was my surprise when they were engaged!

The exclamation continued as if it had been a question: Bennett C 2.12 What a night, isn't it?

Double exclamation: Hewlett F 237 What a reward for what a little aching! | Mason No Other Tiger 177 What an office for what a trade!

Another interrogative word that is used in exclama-

tions is *why* to express surprise: Why, is that you? | Why, what are you doing?

Which = mod. *what* is totally extinct, Ch A 3611, C 937, etc., Gamelyn 168.

In Sc we have *whatna:* Cronin H 16 Whatna way to set the table! | ib 22 Whatna godly occupation for the son of a publican!

Pseudo-Questions.

25.4₈. What from a formal point of view is a question is often not really meant as such. "How do you do?" is generally a greeting that does not require an answer. Rhetorical questions implying the opposite meaning of the corresponding direct statement have been mentioned in 25.1_1. A surprise may be expressed in the form of a question, e. g. "What! are you here?" Cf. 25.5_2.

A formal question is often a negation in disguise: AV Gen 4.9 Am I my brothers keeper? | Who knows? = no one knows | Kipling, The English Flag: And what should they know of England who only England know? | By 627 Must I not die?—Many quotations Negation 23 f.

The continuation shows the negative import: Brontë V 390 Can I guess a woman's waking thoughts, much less her sleeping fantasies.

25.4₉. Indirect questions (x-questions and nexus-questions) as subject and object have been treated fully in vol. III 2.4—5.

A special American form is shown in London V 378 What do you say we stop a few days? | ib 470 What d'ye say we head for the coast? | Hemingway To Have and Have Not 24 Mr. Johnson, what do you say we go out to-night?

Formal Signs of Questions.

25.5₁. There are in general 3 ways of showing that a sentence is meant as a question, (1) special interroga-

tive words, (2) intonation, and (3) word-order: subject placed after the finite verb. Two or three of these may be combined in one and the same sentence. But none of them is an absolutely certain sign of a question, as they may be used for other purposes.

(1) The special interrogative words have been dealt with in the preceding sections, and in 25.4$_7$ we have seen them employed in exclamations.

25.5$_2$. (2) A high or rising tone is generally the most reliable sign of a question.

In questions containing an interrogative word the high or rising tone is generally concentrated on this pronominal word.

In simple nexus-questions the tone rises towards the end of the sentence, as this intonation implies incompleteness: the speaker asks the hearer to complete his thought. But if a second alternative is added, as in disjunctive questions, the sentence ends on a falling tone: In "Did John drink sherry or port?" *sherry* has a high, and *port* a low tone. If, on the other hand, we pronounce the sentence in such a way that *sherry* has a middle and *port* a high tone, we have not a disjunctive, but a simple question, in which *sherry or port* forms one idea, as when we express surprise at John's drinking such strong wines.

The tone varies naturally with the degree of feeling expressed (surprise, wonder, etc.). But the same intonations are found in exclamations such as "What! are you here?" which certainly is no real question asked in order to be informed whether the other person is here. Further "Isn't he stupid!" In exclamations of this kind the tone is modified, and in so far they cannot be said to have the complete form of questions.

On the tone-difference between confirmative questions to request confirmation of a statement and to challenge refutation of a statement, etc., see Palmer Gr § 584 ff.

25.5₃. (3) The word-order characteristic of questions consists in placing the verb before its subject, thus V S. But this order is found outside of questions as well, thus

(1) after certain preposed adverbs: Never had I seen such a sight | She was glad, and so was I, etc.

(2) in conditional clauses without any conjunction, see 21.6_1.

(3) with *may* in wishes: Dickinson, European Anarchy 74 "The war may come", says one party. "Yes", says the other; and secretly mutters, "May the war come!"

(4) in exclamations after interrogative words, 25.4_{6-7}.

25.5₄. The inverted word-order V S in questions is found in a great many languages, and thus seems to be psychologically natural without regard to the structure of any particular language. It is found in English from the oldest times, thus in one of the oldest colloquial texts (Wright-Wülcker, AS and OE Vocabularies 1.90 ff.) hwæt sprycst þu? | hwæt cunnon þas þine geferan? | hu begæst þu cræft þinne? etc.

In Ch it is quite regular, see e. g. A 3544 wostou what is best to done? | A 3768 why rise ye so rathe? | B 499 how lasteth hir vitaille?

But from the end of the ME period the periphrasis with *do* and *did* becomes increasingly frequent and more and more ousts the old construction. With full verbs the old construction without *do* is found, e. g. in Sh Ro II. 4.2 Came he not home to-night? | Shr IV. 3.23 ff. What say you to a neats foote? ... How say you to a fat tripe finely broyl'd? ... What say you to a peece of beefe and mustard? | Tw III. 4.91 How do you? [= Mod. How do you do?]. According to Franz Sh-Gr 481 f. there is in Sh a difference between two kinds of questions: in simple nexus-questions (Franz does not use this expression): "Did he ask for me?" forms with *do* are more frequent than those without *do*, in Tw the relation is as 12 : 2, in As act III (prose) as 13 : 3.

But in x-questions (What said he? | where dwell you?) the forms without *do* prevail: in Tw out of 14 instances only 2, in As act III out of 16 only 3 have *do*. The verbs most often used without *do* are *say, think, mean, go, stand, fare.*

25.5₅. In the post-Elizabethan period questions without *do* are not at all rare, chiefly in more or less conscious archaic diction. Thus in poetry in innumerable passages, e. g. Shelley 132 Whence comest thou? In prose they are comparatively frequent in expressions of indifference (rhetoric questions): What mattered—(Locke FS 175, etc.) | McCarthy 2.358 But what skills talking | What signifies—(Franklin 40, Fielding 3.499, Goldsm 657, Austen M 110) | What care I? (Swift J 56, Bosw 2.142, Locke Ordeyne 168).—After *how* the verbs *come* and *go* often do without *do:* How comes—, e. g. Swift J 119 | Austen M 86 | ead S 128 how came they acquainted? | Di N 495 How came you to see her? | Hardy R 191 How came you to be there? | Doyle S 6.287 How came the letter back in the box? | Galsw P 31 how came he to lose his place? | Bennett A 81 How came she to forget the bacon? | Shelley Pr 298 Well, how goes on all? | Di N 226 How goes the enemy? | Hope C 256 Well, how goes the book? | Rose Macaulay T 164 How go the wars?—What say you? (Swift J 91, Lamb R 37, Austen P 8, Di often, Kipling J2 71) | How say you? (Ruskin C 155) | with *think* (Bosw 2.193, Cowper L 2.386, Smedley F 2.44, Gissing G 197).

Sometimes with existential *there:* Locke SJ 240 For lives there a man who does not believe that an uncomplaining woman has nothing to complain of? | Mackenzie C 31 But lived there the mortal who could have contended successfully with such a jovial assailant? | Bennett A 89 breathes there the man with soul so uniformly cold . . . (quotation from Scott Lay of the Last Minstrel 6.1).

In all such cases natural colloquial language has *do*.

With *used* the omission of *do* may be due to the special character of the verb, which approaches it to the 'lesser' verbs that do not take *do:* Shaw 2.119 Used you to make the fairy stories up out of your own head? | Galsw Sw 275 Used there to be owls?

Do.

25.6₁. It will be best here to deal with the various uses of the auxiliary *do* together, thus not only with its use in questions.

Very much has been written on the origin and development of the periphrastic *do*. A conscientious summary of the views of Mätzner, Dietze, Sweet, Abbott, Kenyon, Royster, Moore, Zilling, Funke, Hittmair, Deutschbein, and Langenfelt is given in the fullest and best treatment of the subject, V. Engblom, On the Origin and Early Development of the Auxiliary Do (Lund 1938). Then Engblom proceeds to a careful examination of the occurrence in a great number of texts of *do* in the various kinds of sentences, in which he has often succeeded in pointing out earlier dates than those found in previous treatments. Since then some of the questions have been taken up by Marchand, ESts 1938 p. 121 and 198, EStn 73.227 ff.

To my mind it is of the utmost importance to understand that the significance of the revolution brought about in English sentence structure by the modern rules for the use of *do* cannot be fully appreciated if we look exclusively at the use of that auxiliary: it must be viewed in connexion with the other points dealt with in the following paragraphs: word-order and the use of the other lesser verbs.

25.6₂. In OE and early ME *do* was used first as a pro-verb to avoid the repetition of a verb just used, as in the example quoted by Sweet: Christ weox swa swa oþre cild doþ; and then as a causative, as in Ch: to do me live or deye. In the latter sense it disappeared and was replaced by *make*, above 18.4_1.

In ME and early ModE *do* came to be used as a real

auxiliary; according to Engblom this has two sources: the unstressed *do* developed from the causative, but the stressed *do* sprang from the pro-verb. This distinction should not, perhaps, be urged too strongly. But note that as an auxiliary it came to be on a par with the other lesser verbs, as seen in some of Engblom's quotations: LondE (1417) it hath stonde, yit doth, and euer shal | More U: Though this good man can not see it: other men can se it, and haue sene it, and daily do se it | Ellis Letters: she neither dothe nor can thincke of any thinge but of lamentinge and wepinge | Boorde 1542: I do not nor shal not, dispraise no man.

25.63. In ME poetry *do* often seems to be a mere padding to fill up the line and bring about the desired rhythm and especially to make it possible to place the infinitive at the end of the line as a convenient rime-word. Thus in the two often quoted early passages in which Ch makes a child ask: B 3622 f. why do ye wepe? ... Is ther no morsel breed that ye do kepe? His follower Lydgate, in the beginning of the 15th c., makes an extensive use of this poetical trick.

Sometimes *do* and *did* serve to make a tense clear in those verbs that are alike in the present and preterit: we do set, did set, cut, etc. Thus probably in AV Mark 15.19 they smote him ... and did spit vpon him | ib 14.18 And as they sate, and did eat | ib 14.22 And as they did eate | Luke 17.28 they did eat, they dranke, they bought, they sold, they planted | Bacon A 1.15 yet we did lift up our hearts | ib 2.1 thick cloudes, which did put us in some hope of land. Cf. also Fisher (q Engblom) the holy spyryte dyd and dothe remayne and shall remayne; and from a much later period Swift T 89 the secretaries, who did, and do, and ever will, daily gasp and pant after it.

25.64. The exuberant use of *do*, chiefly unstressed, and having no real grammatical value, was reached in the 16th c., when it might almost seem as if any sent-

ence contained a lesser verb and as if, as I said as early as 1894 (Progr § 94), all full verbs were "stripped of all those elements which to most grammarians constitute the very essence of a verb, namely the marks of person, number, tense, and mood".

A few later examples of the unemphatic meaningless *do*, which is sometimes revived by poets: Sh H4A V. 1.41 You swore to vs, And you did sweare that oath at Doncaster, that ... | Merch V. 1.1 ff. In such a night ... Troilus methinks mounted ... In such a night Did Thisbe fearfully o'ertrip ... Stood Dido ... Medea gather'd ... Did Jessica steal ... Did young Lorenzo swear | Wordsw 590 Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears | Shelley 131 And I do feel the mighty calmness creep Over my heart | ib 134 Come near me! I do weave A chain I cannot break.

But from the 17th c. a reaction set in and gradually restricted the use of *do* to those three cases that are well known from grammars of PE, and in which it serves a definite grammatical purpose.

25.65. The first of these is the use of a stressed *do* or *did* to emphasize the speaker's belief in the reality of a fact stated, often in contrast to the same verb used unemphatically: Peacock S 67 Shelley, when he did laugh, laughed heartily | Medwin S 116 a circumstance that occurred, or which Shelley supposed did occur | Di D 111 I don't profess to be profound, but I do lay claim to common sense | ib 212 I am bound to believe you, and of course I do believe you | Hardy R 82 She seldom schemed, but when she did scheme, her plans showed the strategy of a general | Haggard S 269 and I tugged—ah! how I did tug | Ward M 223 The two men met, when they did meet—which was but seldom—on perfectly civil terms | Caine C 10 When John did laugh, he laughed beyond all control | ib 292 If I did cry, it would not be from grief | Maxwell F 36 He worked rapidly and well whenever he did work |

id S 25 people will tell you that girls now can do what they like, and do do it | Bennett HL 308 the adroitness which had charmed and still did charm her | Wells Br 69 I suppose in England you would say we spoilt her. I suppose we did spoil her | Galsw FS 858 He slept terribly well when he did sleep, overwhelmed by novelty.

25.6₆. *Do* or *did* is required when an infinitive is placed at the beginning of a sentence:

Fielding T 3.7 Knock, indeed, he did at the door, but not with one of those gentle raps | Brontë P 42 I only thought of walking ... and walk I did | ead V 131 You must not resist, pursued St. Pierre—for resist I did | Campbell Shl 84 Read Shelley did | Butler W 351 "I suppose I'd better have it".—And have it she did | Walpole ST 69 How it faded no one exactly knew, but fade it did.

25.6₇. *Do* or *did* or some other of the lesser verbs is required when the sentence is introduced by one of the adverbs alluded to in 25.5₃: Butler Er 280 So wisely and so well did the old prophet argue | id ER 22 Little did he think that he should want him again | Stevenson T 111 Little did I suppose that he was a deadly enemy.

This is quite a mannerism with Carlyle, e. g. S 6 Thus did the Editor see himself | ib 9 Well do we recollect the last words | ib 31 Thus does the good Homer not only nod, but snore | ib 46 In such wise does Teufelsdröckh deal hits (many other examples in S).

Note the use with *but:* Otway 201 Oh did you but know me, I need not talk thus | Hunt A 129 The very inconsistencies ... did but the more make me wish to discover ... | Lamb R 87 I shudder when I do but think of it | Locke W 5 Sterne did but broach the subject.

25.6₈. With an imperative *do* is used not so much to denote a command, which generally requires rapid enunciation and therefore does without *do*, as an ur-

gent request or entreaty: Do write me a few lines, there's a sweet girl. Several examples are found in vol. III 11.8₄, where we spoke of the express indication of the subject (thou, you). On the question whether the form after *do* is an imperative or infinitive, see above 24.2. *Do* is found even with *do:* Galsw C 143 Do do something, if you can | Shaw Ms 185 Do do something to stop him.

25.7₁. Second, *do* is used in negative statements with *not*. On the historical development see ch. XXIII.

A few examples of the archaic imperative, where now *do* is absolutely required: AV 2 Sam. 1.20 Tell it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Askelon | Sh Meas V. 259 stir not you | ib V. 286 speake not you to him | BJo 1.105 Nay, Mrs. Bridges, blush not | Congreve 278 interrupt me not | Swift T 63 Fall to, and spare not | Johnson R 107 flatter not yourself.

Cf. on *don't let us* 23.3₈.

25.7₂. Third, in all such questions as are not introduced by an interrogative word as (part of) the subject. By the use of *do* as well as of the other lesser verbs a compromise is effected between the ordinary interrogative word-order V S (in this case v S) and the universal tendency to have the subject before the verb, that is, the verb that really means something, thus v S V: *does he see?*, *did he come?*, just as *can he see?*, *could he come?*

25.7₃. Two questions, one notionally but not formally dependent on the other:

Congreve 236 What do they mean, do you know? | Poe 255 How much was the reward, did you say? | Meredith E 31 at what time shall we arrive, may I ask, do you think? | Shaw 1.226 wont she see me, dont you think? | Galsw T 39 Wrote stories did she? [= you say she wrote stories; did she?] | Locke GP 241 And how much of this, do you think, does Pandolfo know?

—Cp also Hughes T2 285 he is a great scholar, didn't you say?

On dependent questions in the form of independent sentences see vol. III 2.4₈ ff. and 18.5₂ ff.

25.7₄. In two parallel questions the second sometimes has not the word-order V S (v S V) but S V. This, however, is not natural nowadays. Examples: Sh Merch V. 1.280 Were you the doctor, and I knew you not? | Defoe R 2.75 Must we kill you, or you will kill us? | Zangwill G 290 Had he fallen asleep and reinless fancy had played him the fantastic trick? | Walpole DF 327 Is life still beautiful ... or is Semyonov right and there is no meaning in my love for Marie?

Do with Special Verbs.

25.8₁. We must specially mention the use of *do* in negative and interrogative sentences with *have*, when it is not a 'lesser' verb. Thus when it has a substantive as object, sometimes with the meaning of 'enjoying'. Thus with objects like *time*, *courage*, *opportunity*, *honour*, *air*, *rheumatism* and other names of illnesses:

Austen M 149 Do have the goodness to hear me my third act | Mitford OV 179 though we may have, and did have, fires all through the dog-days | Thack N 268 They didn't have a bad evening, I believe | ib 53 you didn't have twice of turtle; I always do | Stevenson T 20 If I don't have a drain o' rum, Jim, I'll have the horrors | Benson D 2.186 as I didn't have any breakfast | Pinero M 2 Does every police court have two magistrates? | Chesterton F 142 They didn't have candlesticks because they didn't want them | ib F 267 Officers generally have swords, don't they?

25.8₂. Pretty often *have* enters into a more or less settled combination with an object to express a verbal idea: Thack P 598 Did you not have an early regard for me ...? | id V 45 You did have a round with the

coachman | Di D 408 [vg] she don't have any more alarms | Galsw M 143 Why didn't they have a good word for me? | McCarthy 2.592 Oriental races did not usually have recourse to torture | Bennett T 36 strange they didn't have an At Home like other folks.

Thus also: have a long walk, a long rest, a row [rou], a nice talk, an argument, a quarrel, a row [rau], a quiet passage, a good crossing, a comfortable journey, such a bother, a relapse, an accident, some fun, a good time, an engagement, etc.

25.83. *Do* is used when *have* is followed by a nexus-object (cf. chs. II and III): Austen E 41 Did you ever have your likeness taken? | Wells N 70 I did not have it framed | Galsw FM 124 Are you sure you didn't have them stolen on the course? | Hewlett Q 342 Why did she have the funeral oration prepared? | Galsw P 7.39 Please don't have me followed when I leave here | Kaye Smith HA 269 You didn't have your eyes open. —I know I didn't. Very few women do | Bennett T 182 he doesn't have business risks thrust upon him by his wife | NP 1925 She doesn't have it all her own way | Locke HB 85 Then why the dickens didn't she have you attended to?

Here we may mention such phrases as: Walpole OL 152 The Captain didn't have his clothes off for three days and nights | Galsw TL 128 his own teeth ... would last his time if he didn't have them out | Bennett P 184 Why didn't I have it out with Charlie before he left? | Ade A 13 Why, he had you beat, did n't he? | Merrick MG 249 why did I have him down here?

25.84. *Do* is used with *have to* (*do*) and *have something* (*to do*), cf. 13.5:

Walpole Cp 158 Miss Cardinal was ill and had to come away in the middle, didn't she? | McKenna SS 54 Why did you have to leave England? | Tracy P 115 Sometimes we had to induce Heine to be candid. Didn't we? | Lewis B 273 I don't have to go here if I don't

want to | Maugham Pl 2.203 But one has to think of oneself in these matters, doesn't one? | Zangwill G 103 The youngest child, who did not have to go to school | Chesterton F 66 You did not have to be anything in order to be one of the Twelve Fishers | Bennett H 40 others who do not have to work so long | Mason Ch 252 Had to! Why did he have to? || GE A 261 It'll be a stiff walk home for you, if you don't have something to revive you | Bennett RS 163 Absurd to fancy that she did not have enough to eat | Chesterton F 57 We didn't have much to do with him ourselves | Zangwill G 156 He didn't have much to say about the crimes | Hankin 2.45 Why doesn't he have Miss Triggs to stay with him? | Dreiser F 270 Don't have anything to do with her.

25.8₅. Sometimes the choice is between this *do*-combination and *have got;* "What do you have to eat?" (Kipling P 160) refers to the usual, "What have you got to eat?" to the actual occurrence; similarly "Do you have a ticket for the concert?" refers to the general necessity as against the factual "Have you got a ticket?" American writers seem to use the *do*-construction in many cases in which Britishers would use *have got.*

25.8₆. The use of *do* with *be* is different. It is chiefly used with the imperative, *Do be quiet!* in an urgent request (25.6₈); rarely with the subject expressed as in Fielding T 1.257 and, Molly, do you be faithful to your friends | Quincey 219 And do you yourself be silent.

In the negative imperative the old form was without *do* as in BJo 3.41 Be not then so sparing of your purses | ib 52 Away, and be not seen, pain of thy life | Kipling L 190 consider this, and be not larger fools than necessary | Meredith H 36 Be not so young and thoughtless. This is now pretty universally ousted by the *do*-construction: "Don't be angry!" according to the general tendency to have the negation first. An early example is Defoe R 273 Do not be frighted.

Outside the imperative *do* is rarer, chiefly Irish: Moore L 25 And what they do be saying now is ... | ib 169 [Irish priest:] What time do you be making it, Gogarthy.—It isn't ten o'clock yet | Synge [T] 18 I do be afeard of the dead | ib 131 It's real wicked she does be when ... | Waugh W 256 why don't you be easier?

25.87. *Do* with *ought* (*to*) is given as an Americanism in Di M 223 You speak a-larming well in public, but you didn't ought to go ahead so fast in private | ib. But you didn't ought to have your dander ris with *me*, Gen'ral | Maugham Alt 44 I just won't do a thing I didn't ought all the time I'm here—but it is found in English too as a vulgarism: Di D 313 [Ham:] a young woman, that Em'ly knowed once, and doen't ought to know no more (Ham also ib 314 and 317) | ib 412 [Mr. Peggotty:] you doen't ought | Wells L 171 You didn't ought to have written about that mesmerising | Fun 1887 there did orter to be five times sech meetin's more than there is.

On *do* with *dare* and *need* see above 12.2 and 12.3.

On *didn't use to go* and *usen't to go* see vol. IV 1.9(1) and 1.9(4); cf. also Bennett R 141 He used to say to me, my husband did.

General Survey.

25.9. I shall here give a summary of the result of the development sketched in this chapter.

In about 90 per cent. of English colloquial sentences we find the following closely related patterns of sentence structure—given here with an object; in sentences without any object we have the same patterns without the final element.

(1) S V O

John beats Dick,—

or with one of the lesser verbs

S v V O
John can (could, will, would ...) beat Dick
John has (had) beaten Dick
John is (was) beating Dick
John does (did) beat Dick.

(2) v S V O?
Can (could, will, would ...) John beat Dick?
Has (had) John beaten Dick?
Is (was) John beating Dick?
Does (did) John beat Dick?

(3) S v^n V O
John can't (couldn't,won't,wouldn't ...) beat Dick
John hasn't (hadn't) beaten Dick
John isn't (wasn't) beating Dick
John doesn't (didn't) beat Dick.

(4) v^n S V O?
Can't (couldn't,won't,wouldn't...) John beat Dick?
Hasn't (hadn't) John beaten Dick?
Isn't (wasn't) John beating Dick?
Doesn't (didn't) John beat Dick?

(5) S? V O
Who beats Dick?
S? v V O
Who can (could, will, would...) beat Dick?
Who has (had) beaten Dick?
Who is (was) beating Dick?

(6) S? v^n V O
Who can't (couldn't, won't, wouldn't...) beat Dick?
Who hasn't (hadn't) beaten Dick?
Who isn't (wasn't) beating Dick?
Who doesn't (didn't) beat Dick?

(7) O? v S V
Whom can (could, will, would...) John beat?
Whom has (had) John beaten?
Whom is (was) John beating?
Whom does (did) John beat?

(8) O? v^n S V
Whom can't (couldn't, won't, wouldn't...) John beat?
Whom hasn't (hadn't) John beaten?
Whom isn't (wasn't) John beating?
Whom doesn't (didn't) John beat?

(9) S V O!
You take another chair!
v S V O!
Let us take another chair!
May God forgive you!
v^n S V O!
Don't you take that chair!
Don't let us take that chair!

In this survey the following advantages are obvious:

The subject always comes before the important verbal idea, even in questions.

In questions, requests and wishes a formal verb comes before the subject.

The negative element comes as early as possible.

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J.

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O.

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W.

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worthy 9.2_4.
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Y.

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Addendum.

References should have been given in the folowing places to passages in vol. IV in which the same or similar phenomena have been dealt with:

2.7_5 *have me beat*, cf. IV 4.3(5).
9.2_1 tense of gerund, cf. IV 7.8 and 22.9(5).
13.5_1 and 15.3_2 *have to*, cf. IV 4.4.
15.5 *is to*, cf. IV 22.1(4).
16.1 and 16.4 *come* (etc.) *to*, cf. IV 22.1(6).
18.6_3 *can* no infinitive, cf. IV 5.3(2) and 22.9(4).
22.1 time in agent-noun, cf. IV 22.9(7).
22.2 time in participles, cf. IV 7.5 f. and 22.9(6).
22.5_1 *has died, is dead*, cf. IV 4.5.
22.5_2 *am determined*, cf. IV 3.6(3).
24 tense of imperative, cf. IV 7.4(2).
25.3_4 question raised to second power, cf. IV 15.6(5) *Will I?*
25.6 *do*, cf. IV 8.8(6) and 22.1_7(7) *did, and do.*
25.8 *do have*, cf. IV 4.3 and 4.4.